

California Historical Society Quarterly

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Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Back numbers of the Quarterly can be supplied for the present, to members only, at the price of \$2.00 each.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Society at 508 Wells Fargo Building, San Francisco.

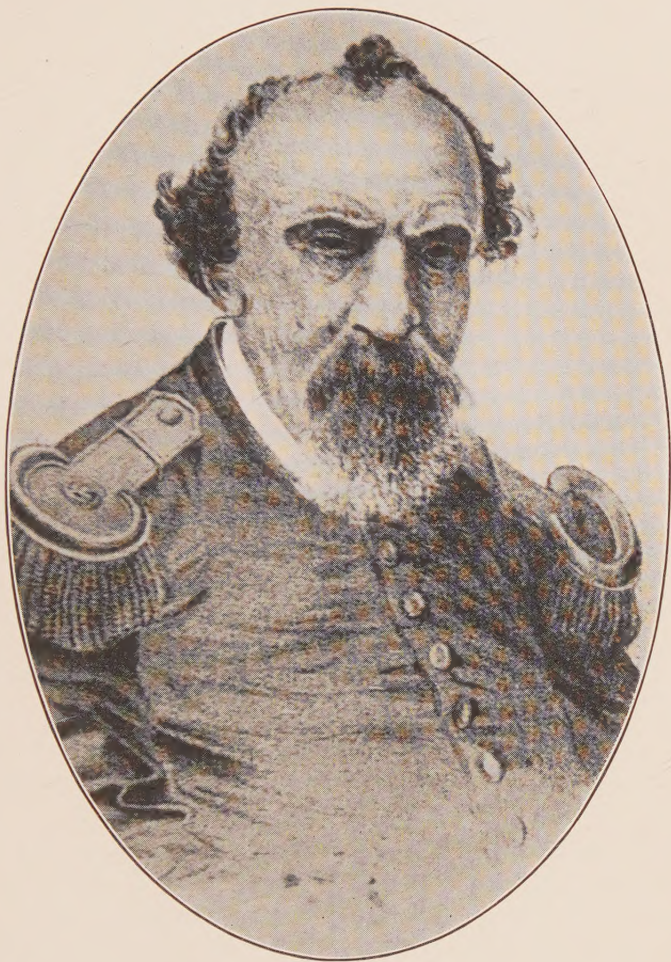
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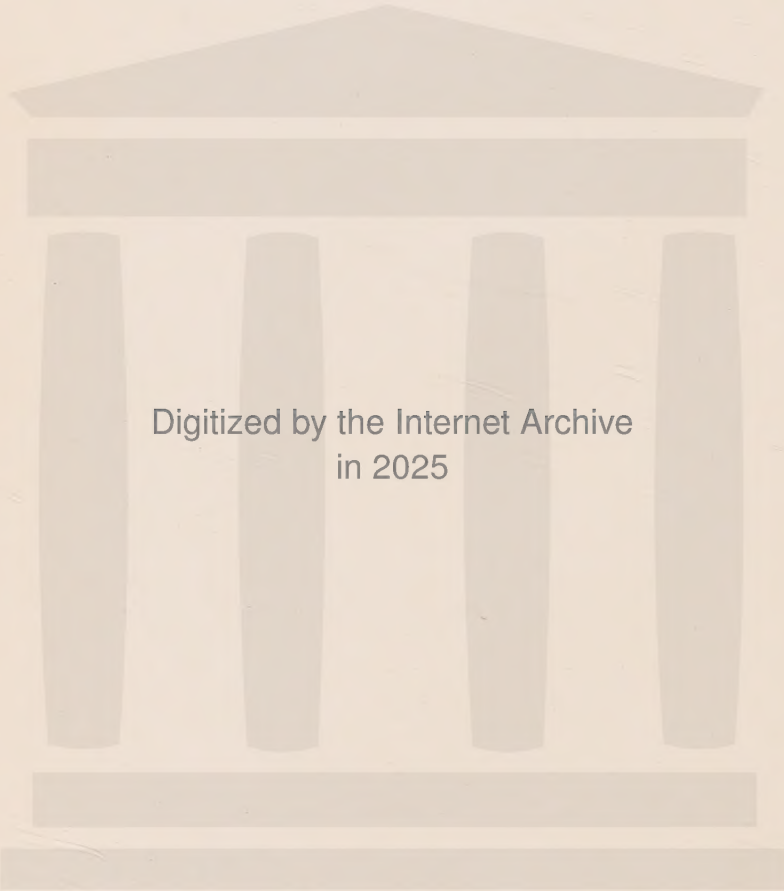
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California Historical Society Quarterly

THE GOLD RUSH

Extracts from the Diary of C. S. Lyman
1848-1849

INTRODUCTION

Chester Smith Lyman was born in Manchester, Connecticut, January 13, 1814. He was the third child and only son of Chester and Mary (Smith) Lyman. After graduation from Yale College (1837) he taught for two years at Ellington, Connecticut. In 1842 he finished his course in the Yale Divinity School and was called to the pastorate of the First (Congregational) Church of New Britain, Connecticut, where he was ordained February 15, 1843. Owing to ill health he resigned this position in April, 1845, and in October of the same year he sailed for the Sandwich Islands. The Journal covers the period from his departure in 1845 to his return to New Haven in 1850.

The period from October 1, 1845, to June 3, 1847, is occupied by the narrator's visit to various of the Sandwich Islands. On July 3, 1847, he landed at San Francisco. From this time until the period of the extracts presented below, he was engaged in surveying private ranches and various town lands in California—of the latter, those in Monterey and in San José (the Pueblo of the Journal) being the most important. After the two visits to the gold fields here recorded, he worked again at surveying until the date of his departure for the East, March 1, 1850. He reached New Haven on April 13. On June 20 he married Delia Wood, the "D W W" of the Journal.

In July, 1859, Mr. Lyman was appointed Professor of Industrial Mechanics and Physics in the Yale Scientific School. In 1871 the title of his chair was changed to Astronomy and Physics; in 1884, to Astronomy. In October of 1886 he retired from teaching. He died at New Haven, January 29, 1890.

The significant parts of the Journal, which make a narrative of some 90,000 words, will be published in a volume by the Yale University Press in the autumn of the present year, under the same editorship as this sequence of extracts.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

JOURNAL

Sat. [May] 27 [1848]. There is a great gold fever raging. Mr Jones & Dr Corey [Benjamin Cory] have returned from the gold region & are preparing to go there to dig. Nearly all the Americans & many of the Californians are preparing to go. Mr Foster my Chain-man goes & I am left without hands & my business is at a standstill. Half San Francisco has already gone.

Mon. [May] 29. Large companies starting for the Gold mines. Got a draft on the Town Treasurer for \$37—the balance due me for the survey. Take also 4 Town Lots N^{os} 1, 4, 5, 8 in Block 3 range 2 South. Cost \$53.00 [(Sold next year for \$1200. in gold coin)]

Tues. [May] 30th. Concluded to start next week with Capt Hanks, Willis & Foster for the gold region taking an ox team.

My business here has come to a dead halt & no hands can be had at all.

Wed. [May] 31st Making preparations, buying sugar &c &c &c.

Fri. June 2^d Rode to Sta Clara to see Mr Forbes, respecting Mr Howards Ranch. He wants a survey of it immediately, but I can get no hands on acc't of the Gold fever, which increases daily. Wag-gons & pack animals are constantly passing thitherward.

Sat. 3^d June. Turning wooden bowls & making other preparations.

Sun. [June] 4th Two Sermons. Mr Anthony AM. Mr Hickok PM. Eve. a Temp[erance] Meeting. The Town so depopulated by the Gold fever not many present except people from Sta Cruz on their way up. Mr Hickok & Mr Dunlevy [James G. T. Dunleavy] spoke, nothing great. Mr H[ickock] mouthed & murdered the Queens English horridly, the other was a decent speaker, but people could not help thinking all the while how shockingly he beat his wife a short time since, a thing which he is in the habit of doing. Meeting too long, left at 10³/₄, 15 signed the pledge.

Mon. [June] 5th. Preparing to get off tomorrow, in doubt whether to go by the straits where we may have to wait 2 or 3 weeks, or by the San Joaquin where we will have to ferry the river at flood on bullrushes, & cross interminable & bottomless mudholes (almost!)

Tues. 6 June. Started at 8 from Pueblo, reached Mission of San José at 12, having passed Higuera ranch at 11, where one waggon of another company was overset in crossing a gulch. The Mission

premises are very extensive but much in ruins. The orchards & vineyards are extensive & good, pears particularly, fine water. At $2\frac{1}{2}$ stopped in the hills & lunched, passed through hills by a gentle ascent to a stream passing thro' Siunoll's [Suñol] ranch & encamped near the stream. Traveled today about 20 miles, road mostly good. Killed a bullock, supper coffee & roast beef, spread tent & slept well, rose at $4\frac{1}{2}$, started at 6. Passed through a beautiful & fertile plain claimed by Dolores Pacheco many miles in extent & well wooded, 8 or 9 miles on our way stopped under a tree some time for the team to come up, passed [Robert] Livermore a mile further on. Leaving this place we crossed another plain 5 miles or so in width, but barren & dry, then entering the hills wound through a crooked ravine for several miles till we came to a small spring of water just beyond where the hills begin to slope towards the San Joaquin. Passing the hight just before reaching this place we had a fine view of the Plain of the San Joaquin.

Our encampment a wretched one, but little water & bad, no wood & no shelter, & grass not abundant, but we could do no better without traveling several miles on.

Thurs 8th June. Started at $5\frac{1}{2}$. Two or 3 miles on entered the plain of the San Joaquin. Passing up stream several miles over an almost barren & heated plain we came to the Tulares now overflowed with water, skirted these some miles, stopped to bathe, halted to dine & rest at a slough or deep channel setting out from the river. Drove on at 3 PM a few miles, spent some time in passing a slough & encamped $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile beyond & about 1 from the river, found the plain so overflowed as to prevent reaching the river to day. Weather very hot & mosquitoes innumerable. Slept but little, in fact very little sleep in all the camp. Rose at 4.

Fri. [June] 9. Spent the day in trying to find a better place to cross the river than the usual one. Mr. Wilks & Mr. York crossed on a raft of Bulrushes, found no good passage, Tulae [tule] swamps beyond. Encamped at the same place.

Sat. [June] 10th. Rose at $4\frac{1}{2}$, prepared to decamp, doubled & trebled the teams, passed 2 or 3 sloughs, water 4 ft deep, several teams mired down, after much trouble reached the river at night having spent the day in making $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, bridged one of the sloughs with brush, 6 waggons & cart.

Encamped at river, beautiful place, cool, few mosquitoes. This is called the Piscadero [Pescadero] crossing place, the usual crossing place in dry weather.

Sun. [June] 11th. Fine day, river rising, felt it necessary to

cross as soon as possible, prepared a boat by covering a waggon body with raw hides, fitted it with mast & sail & nearly all the waggons & baggage were over before night, only our party left. Don José Noriega from the Pueblo arrived & stopped with us.

Mon. [June] 12. Rose early. Boating over the rest of the baggage & crossing the horses & cattle, which were towed two at a time by the boat. A ships yawl was also used by us a short time, it having been brought down the river by a company of rough fellows who were taking on a drove of 50 horses. On the other side of the river every thing had to be carried several hundred yards up a slough to a hillock or knoll where we are encamped [at] an old Indian rancheria.

Tues. June 13th. All the animals & luggage having been passed over the river & landed on the knoll last eve, we rose early, & prepared to go on. After passing several bad places of mud & water we came to a deep slough $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from our last camp which occupied us till the middle of the PM to pass, the waggons having to be unloaded, & the vehicles taken across in the leather boat, which was brought in on wheels. Traveling on upon dry land 7 or 8 miles we encamped at the head of a slough setting back from the river & passed a comfortable night. The land we passed through was destitute of wood, some of it a good soil, but much sand and apparently unproductive. Here oaks commence. This place is called the French Camp from the circumstance that some Frenchmen had their camp or attempted a settlement here some time ago.

Wed. [June] 14. Started about 6, & traveled over the plain in a N. E. direction about 10 miles to the Calavaras river a stream of clear cool water a few yards in breadth & flowing into the San Joaquin. Dr. [James C.] Isbells Ranch is on this river & his two houses a little distance above the crossing. After dining & resting here awhile we drove on 10 or 11 miles further to the Mokelemy or Mokolerny [Mokelumne] which we reached long before night. The river is about 150 ft wide & deep, it is fordable I believe at low water but the stream is now up though but little out of its banks. It has a bottom $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile or so in width which in some places was under water, the stream has been this season 6 or 8 feet higher than at present. On the flat near the stream & surrounded by water & mud are two log houses occupied by a Mr Piles [Thomas Pyle] whose wife, a strapping dirty looking creature informed us about the passage & at the same time brushed off the mosquitoes which were very numerous. At the rivers bank they swarm in myriads & are almost insupportable.

We selected our camping place on the upland $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the R[iver] to avoid the mosquitoes as much as possible. The land over which we passed today is of ordinary quality & much of it very poor. We passed thro considerable oak timber with which also this stream as also the Calavaras are lined. We rose early & prepared to cross the R[iver]. The raw hide boat cover which we had brought from the San Joaquin was again fitted to a waggon body, & by the aid of a line stretched across the stream, the ferrying was all accomplished & the waggons reloaded by 12 oclock. An oak canoe was also of some assistance. The day has been very hot & the mosquitoes at the R[iver] very annoying. After dining on the farther bank we started on & traveled over a thinly wooded prairie with poor soil about 8^m to the dry creek, which afforded a beautiful camp ground under large oaks with fine water in the bed of the stream & plenty of grass & oats. The stream is not a flowing one at this season. Oats we have only seen in small spots occasionally over the plain of the San Joaquin & the grass is generally very coarse. Pitts, Murphy & others came up with us while we were crossing the Bohelémy. Murphy & co with Annador [José María Amador] & company with some others encamped with us at the Dry Creek. The afternoon was very hot partly probably from extensive fires which are running over the plain occasioned most likely by the carelessness of parties who have proceeded [preceded] us.

Frid. June 16th. Rose at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ had breakfast at 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ & started at 4 on our way our course northerly. From Dry creek the plain is almost entirely destitute of wood & the grass has just been entirely burnt off leaving a black dreary surface.

After riding nearly 20 miles we came to the River Cosumnes, a fine mountain stream a few yards in width, & a foot or two in depth. Half a mile before reaching it we entered fine groves of oaks. We halted on the river under some oaks about 9 & waited for the waggon which came up about 11 $\frac{1}{2}$. Here we took dinner & rested till 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM.

At 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ started on, following the stream to the mill about a mile from our halting place. Mill small, one run of stone, fall of the river small, much water, on the West side a beautiful fertile plain spreads out furnishing the most eligible farm I have yet seen. This plain must be $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide & several in length.

Here the eye ranges over a tract of country more strongly resembling old Conn. than any other I have seen, low rolling hills, well wooded, & fertile vallies extend as far as the eye can reach, & in the back ground 60 or 80 miles to the East rise the snowy mountains covered with their white mantle.

Leaving the stream to the right we rode on 4 miles beyond the Mill & encamped by some standing water with oaks near by.

Sat. [June] 17. Drove on about 11 miles & halted by some water in a valley till the teams came up at 11. Capt H[anks] & myself meanwhile rode on to reconnoiter, & after returning & dining &c, we started again & went to the lower Diggings at the Mormon Camp about 4 miles distant. Weather excessively hot. Had the misfortune to lose the Ther[mometer] at the Diggings. The Island on which is the Mor[mon] Camp crowded. Get \$16 to 25 a day, people washing all along the river, ferry 1 mile up. Saw many acquaintances. Returned in the PM. Teams came on $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile & encamped by the main road from Sutters up the river at about a mile or more distant from it.

Night very hot slept ill. Rose at $2\frac{1}{2}$ for 2 mornings past, & get ready to move at 4. Moved up towards the upper digging about 10 miles & stopped under some shades till near night & then went on a few miles further on & encamped. Day very hot.

Mon. [June] 19th. Rose early. Started on. Cattle much heated. Capt H[anks] & I rode on to explore, reached Sutters saw-mill, had camp past the turning off place to go to the digging below the mill which we had decided on trying, returned, & late PM came on with the team as far as the river, turning off about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles below the mill & winding to the left down the stream. Too late to cross over. Encamped on the sand.

Tues. [June] 20th. AM Capt H[anks] & I crossed & went prospecting two miles down the river, decided on a place & went back, passed the waggons & baggage & PM moved down a mile below the ferry.

Wed. [June] 21st. Finished making a machine for washing & commenced operations. Little gold yielded.

Thurs. [June] 22. Dug & washed several hours, poor yield, only a few dollars worth of gold. Started off Prospecting. Capt H[anks] found a better place a few rods above, at a rocky point projecting into the river. Moved the machine thither. Washed out 16 or 20 dollars worth in about an hour.

Frid. [June] 23^d. Rose early. Worked the machine 5 hours AM & 4 PM obtaining about 11 oz. of gold or 32 dollars apiece for the company of 5 individuals.

Sat. 24th June. Washed out $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz in about 11 hours, making \$40 apiece reckoning \$16 to the oz.

Sun. [June] 25. Fine day—& day of rest. Sat in shade, did some reading & writing.

Sat July 1st 1848. Have kept our machine going at the same place working about 9 hours a day—i. e. from 5 to 11 AM & from 4 to 7 PM, blowing out the black sand during the noon intermission. The days works were as follows

Mon	all day	20	oz	14	dol
Tues	" "	14	"	2	"
Wed	AM	6	"	2	"
Wed	noon to				
	Thurs noon	10	"	4	"
Fri	noon	11	"	1	"
Sat	noon	25	"	8	"

[At this period in California the ounce was regarded as a monetary unit, to which the dollar was subsidiary.]

The last was obtained from near the same place as that of Mon, only nearer the river, the water having fallen 1 or 2 feet during the week. Our aggregate gains up to this time (8 days) are about \$1800 or \$360 apiece. The weather the last 2 or 3 days has been warmer & the water of the river grows warm as the snows become more melted.

Sun 2^d July. Mr D[ouglass] & myself went to Jones Camp 1½ miles above to engage in religious exercises. Most of the party belonging to his camp were absent & it was concluded to appoint a religious meeting there for the next Sabbath.

On returning to our camp about noon I found Mr Wilks Bro-in-Law Francisco had returned from above where he had been doing extremely well, & that Mr Wilks & Capt Hanks had resolved to leave our diggings & go there immediately. Of course I must go or be left in the lurch, so I concluded to go.

Mon. [July] 3^d. Up early, decamped at 8 AM. Crossed the river by the assistance of a scow, or small boat, & proceeded 3 miles on the road up very steep & sandy hills, it being the same road by which we had come down. Mr. D[ouglass] went to the store at the Mill & bought each of us a shovel for \$10. apiece. There are three teams in company, Wilks', Capt Hanks' & Mr York's.

Tues. July 4th. Started early on our way. Weather very hot, 2 miles on entered the road from Sutters to the Mill, passed down it towards Sutters a mile or two & took the trail for Webbers Camp on a creeke that runs into the Am[erican] Fork from the S. E. Reached the creek & crossed about 10 AM. The stream is only a small rivulet. Webber had just moved his camp 8 miles up the stream to the place whither we were bound. The diggings in this vicinity seem to be pretty much worn out, & the people were moving away. Noon at

the creek. Started about 2 PM, ascended a very steep sandy hill which occupied 2 hours & proceeded to within a mile or two of the diggings, but night having come on we turned down the main road to Sutters 2 miles to find water & grass for an encampment. Reports of the diggings discouraging, have been extremely good but are now failing, & people are crowding in by hundreds.

Wed. July 5. Spent the forenoon in hunting for Wilks oxen, which had strayed off, found by indians to whom W[ilks] paid \$30 in gold. PM rode in to the diggings 5 miles, poor encouragement. The company in doubt whether to go on or go back. Decide to go on. Weather hot, traveled today 13 miles.

Thurs. July 6. Spent several hours in hunting the cattle again, got off at 11 AM & reached the valley at noon. Selected a camp. Tried several places for gold found some but not enough to pay for digging. Found gold in gulches on the hills where we last encamped.

Frid [July] 7. Divided the provisions. Mr D[ouglass] & I joined Mr B[ascom] Cases Camp, & spent part of the day in prospecting, not much success, the principle Gulches in this region have been dug out, from one about \$30,000 were taken in 10 or 12 days—17,000 of it in 2 days. Other gulches turned out very well. The Gold here is found most abundantly in the side ravines or gulches, the excavations are generally from 1 to 3 feet deep & about the same width following the bottom of the gulch & the gold is found chiefly in the crevices of the slate rock which lies just under the surface of the ground, the lamina or strata standing nearly perpendicularly. Mr. D[ouglass] & Mr Case started out prospecting.

About noon Gov Mason arrived with his party consisting of Capt Folsom, Lieut Sherman, Mr Borde the Purser of the *Warren* & Mr Suerkrop, Danish Consul at the S. I. Spent an hour or two with them at Webbers Camp. They returned towards night down the Creek. The Gov is collecting specimens & preparing a representation for Washington in order to get a branch Mint established at San Francisco.

Sat [July] 8. Dr Corey & Mr Beebee & myself went prospecting to a Ravine 4 miles North, where an Irishman named [Michael] Murray obtained about \$3000 in 3 or 4 days, passing two ravines & two high ridges from which the snowy mts were visible we reached the valley & found the crowd had proceeded [preceded] us, the ravine was full of diggers, & the finding of gold had become quite uncertain. We tried several places, but did not get much, John Murphy trading with the Indians was taking in gold very fast selling glass beads for their weight in gold, Serapas at \$60 &c &c. Returning examined a

ravine & picked about \$2 of gold from the rocks in a short time, reach Camp sun 2 hours high.

Mon [July] 10th. Mr Case returned about noon, reported good diggings about 4 miles to the north on dry creek. Mr Douglass had remained there. We immediately packed up & moved our camp thither picking our route over the high hills & encamping in dry creek before sunset, near a gulch which had been opened two days before & from which many thousand dollars had been taken. Weather moderate & pleasant.

Tues 11th July. Commenced digging in the gulch. Mr. Douglass & I taking a spot about a rod in length & digging towards each other. In the course of the day we picked out about 7 oz each, besides collecting dirt to wash. The gulch full of people.

Wed [July] 12th. A.M. Finished our place in the gulch & commenced packing dirt to our camp to wash, our camp being half a mile off in another ravine leading to the Am[erican] river.

Pack saddle broke and the PM was spent in repairing it, it being a borrowed one.

Thurs July 13th. AM Finished the pack saddle & washed considerable dirt. The mending of the saddle cost about \$100—ie, I should probably have collected that amount of gold while mending it.

Friday [July] 14th. Mr D[ouglass] & myself washing the dirt collected, which yields about 2 or 3 dollars of gold to the shovel full.

Sat. [July] 15th. Mr Douglass went over to a gulch running into dry creek & obtained a pound of gold, nearly in the course of the day. I dug in the AM near camp & in the PM in the gulch with Mr Douglass, obtained but little, precarious business. Mr. Douglass & myself have obtained since Tues morning 60 oz of gold, which with 3½ which Mr D[ouglass] collected on Monday gives us in all for the weeks work 63½ oz or \$1016. or \$508 dollars apiece.

Mon. 17th July. It being reported that rich diggings had been discovered about 20 miles up the river Mr D[ouglass] & myself packed up provisions for a week & started about noon to ascertain the truth of the matter, somewhat suspecting at the same time that it might prove a wild goose chase, yet glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity to examine the country farther mountainward. Proceeding to Webbers camp 4 miles distant we took to Mormon trail leading to the Salt lake & proceeded as far as the Mormon Camp 10 or 12 miles up the Creek. We found a few Mormons remaining at the Camp but could obtain no information from them respecting the new diggings. We encamped a little below their camp.

Tues July 18. Soon after starting fell in with Mr Reed with a party of 7 others (Conner, 3 Pyle's &c) on the same errand as ourselves, concluded to proceed together. Struck in from the Mormon trail a couple of miles or more northerly & took an indian trail leading up the dividing ridge between the River & Webbers creek. Following this 5 or 6 miles we met several people coming back, after searching for the diggings in vain. Mr D[ouglass] & myself resolved to turn back, the rest kept on. We had returned but a mile or so when we met Dan Murphy & others who were on the same pursuit & had what appeared to be more reliable information. So we turned back resolved to go far enough to satisfy ourselves. Rejoining Reeds party we went on 5 or 6 miles & again entered on the Mormon trail, proceeding 6 or 8 miles on this we encamped by a clear cold mountain rivulet in a ravine on the right having traveled about 20 miles up from the Mormon Camp.

Wed July 19th. Slept soundly, again started on continually rising. Traveled till noon bearing towards the S.E. Satisfied that gold was not to be found in this region & that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate to the main River on account of the tremendous ravines or Canyons which intersect the mountains, we halted on the top of a hill, with the snowy mountains in full view not more than 8 or 10 miles distant, the whiteness of the snowy mantle causing them to appear much nearer, the atmosphere was cool & refreshing at noonday & the weather beautiful. The mountain scenery around was grand, & we felt pretty well paid for our journey, tho' no gold had been found. After leaving the Mormon Camp, Quartz almost entirely ceased & the geology of the country changed, from the Slate rock of the upper gold diggings we passed over varieties of gneiss & the last part of our ride the principle rock was Granite. All the way we passed thro' most beautiful forests of fine Fir, Redwood, Cedar & Oak. The pines, firs, & redwood were many of them of extraordinary size & height, being often 50 or 80 feet to the branches & from 150 to 200 or more feet high. many of them being from 6 to 8 or 9 feet in diameter. We now resolved to return to our last nights camp, about 12 miles, which we did, reaching it a little before night.

Thurs. July 20. Started early, it was resolved that half our party should penetrate to the river on foot & explore for gold, while the rest proceeded along the ridge with the horses. Following the road 3 or 4 miles the foot party turned off & the rest of us kept on about 4 miles & halted for the foot men to come up, at the same time 3 of our party descending to the River to intercept them, about 5 PM the foot party made their appearance thoroughly tired having found tremendous Can-

yons but no gold. The stream was a considerable one & must be a main branch of the river. We found a good camping place a short distance from where we halted.

Frid July 21. Satisfied that further search for the reported diggings was useless we resolved to proceed directly back to camp. Mr Reeds party departing before us & Mr D[ouglass] & myself taking the trail leading down the dividing ridge towards Webbers Creek leaving the Mormon trail on our left. A few miles on we turned in towards the river to explore, passing some deep & difficult ravines till meeting a fire sweeping thro' the forest we turned back into the trail to avoid it & proceeding directly back to Camp, reaching it about sunset having stopped to take tea a mile back at Mr Nelighs Camp. Mr Belden spent the night with us, & left in the morning for the Pueblo. We found that many who had left on the same search as ourselves had returned equally unsuccessful. We had had the pleasure of the trip but were minus the amount of gold we might have dug had we remained behind, many of our friends having made from 300 to 1000 dollars during our absence.

Sat [July] 22^d. Went to work in the creek or ravine in which we are encamped, not successful, both of us obtaining but about 3 oz.

Mon [July] 24. Water at our camping place having got very bad we moved to a fine spring 3 miles from the diggings down Dry Creek where we have good pasturage for cattle & horses, a fine shade all day & a good place for washing with a machine. Dug but little gold.

Tues. 25 July. Dug in the Gulch or Ravine in which Mr Neligh & Dr Corey are encamped. Moderate success.

Wed. [July] 26. Dug in the same place. Mr D[ouglass] being unwell remained in camp.

We have obtained the last 3 days nearly 6 ounces or but 1^{oz} a day apiece. The poorest work we have done.

Thurs [July] 27. Mr D[ouglass] & myself digging dirt from the next ravine west to cart & wash with a machine at our camp having made an arrangement with Mr Case for that purpose.

Frid [July] 28. Digging in same place. Mr Case has drawn to camp 5 small loads of earth. Not much gold to be picked out, or visible in digging.

Sat [July] 29th. Washed out the earth brought down the last two days it yielded 17^{oz} or 8½^{oz} for Mr Case & the same for Mr D[ouglass] & myself. Mr Case's boy staid to keep camp yesterday & day before. This gives each of us \$23 per day for the last 3 days.

Sun 30th July. Spent the day in Camp. Mr Matthews & son & Rev Mr Anthony came & spent the Sabbath with us, had religious exercises, agreeable & profitable.

Mon & Tues [July 31st and Aug 1st]. Digging earth to cart from the same ravine we worked in last week, 3 loads each day.

Wed & Thurs [Aug 2^d and 3^d]. Digging in lower part of the old ravine in which we did our best weeks work a fortnight ago (nearly opposite the last), picked out several large pieces, 3 or 4 oz in all, & carted 4 loads of earth.

Frid & Sat. [Aug 4th and 5th]. Washing out the 11 loads of earth (1 was obtained on Frid.) & obtained 46^{oz} and $\frac{2}{3}$ ^d, giving for my share (one fourth) 11^{oz} 11^{dols} or \$187. for the weeks work—to \$31 per day.

Mon [Aug] 7th. Digging in same place as last week, 3 loads of earth, picked 1^{oz} or 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Tues [Aug.] 8th. Horses not to be found this morning, instead of going to our digging place, washed yesterdays earth, finished at noon, result 12^{oz} 5^{dol} in all, my portion 3^{oz} 1^{dol}=\$50.

Sat. [Aug.] 12th. Mr D[ouglass] myself & Bascom Case washing the dirt with the machine. Mr Case carting 2 loads. Did not finish the washing. The earth we have washed the last 2 weeks yields about 4^{oz} the load, which are small.

Mr Douglass went to the Mill 10 miles off for groceries. Prices here are high, at present as follows

Sugar \$1.00, Rice .33, Coffee 1.00, Manteca [Lard] 1.00, Figs & Raisins 1.00, Shoes \$10. to 16., Flour 25. to 35, Beans 15 to 25, Mollasses \$3. to 6. gal, Shovels 10.00, Butter 1.50 lb, Spades \$10.00, Crowbars 10. to 40, Saleratus 1.50, Thin Cot. Pants 10.00, Milk pans 5. to 10.00, Wooden bowls 5. to 10.00, Picks 10. to 30.00, Beef fresh 12 to (25) 50^{cts}, \$8 to 12 per qr, Carting from fort \$10 per cw., Shirts 10.00 25.00 each, Dried pears 25. to 75., Potatoes per lb. 1.00.

Almost every other camp is a store, goods are abundant, but business dull, everybody cannot get rich trading.

Made 7^{oz} & 11^{dols} this week=\$20 per day. Earth not so good as expected.

Mon Aug 14, 1848. Washed out a load or two of earth left last week. Yielded but poorly. Mr Douglass digging, ditto myself PM.

Tues. [Aug.] 15. Digging at same place. Carted 2 Loads.

Wed. [Aug.] 16th. Digging in same place. Carted one load. Cattle lost found early.

Thurs [Aug.] 17th. Washed out our earth. Small yield.

Frid 18th Aug. Digging in same ravine a few rods below, hope for better success, 3 loads.

Sat [Aug.] 19. Washed out. Earth was not so good as the former. With the interruptions & poor diggings this week have made but 4^{oz} 5 ^{dols}=\$11½ per day.

Mr Case has concluded to leave for home next week. Think some what of going with him. The profits of digging are but moderate comparatively. Many people are sick of fevers & fever & ague. The weather is hot at midday, grass for horses scarce. My horse I now have safe, tho' others are losing them every day. On these & other accounts, especially as I am now in good health, & furthermore may get business below in the way of surveying I think it about as well to go home to the Pueblo with Mr Case.

Since I came to the mines 2 months ago I have collected about 86^{oz} of gold or not far from \$1380, at \$16 the oz. This is better than I could have done surveying. My health has been uniformly good, improving, if anything. Appetite good, eat heartily sleep soundly. Live chiefly on a farinaceous diet, flour in griddle cakes, short cakes, & atolae [atole] or thick gruel, rice boiled, together with dried pears stewed, jerked beef now & then & occasionally fresh beef varied with stews of hares & quails, both the latter excellent eating. Besides these wild game in these mountains is very scarce. A few stray deer are seen occasionally but I have heard of none being shot.

Our camp for the last 3 weeks has been a very quiet & pleasant one, with a good spring of water. The great objection to it is the distance to the diggings=3 or 4 miles.

Mon [Aug.] 21. Mr. Case concludes to remain till Thurs so as to have the company of Anthony & Cospar. Mr D[ouglass] & myself tried digging in the Log Cabin ravine a little below our former Camp where within the last week or two a great amount of gold has been taken from the southern bank of the stream, a flat being there formed between the foot of the hill & the bed of the stream from 10 to 20 yards in width. This has already been dug back nearly half way to the hill & continues rich. Mr Cospar gets from 2 to 10 ounces per day, others as much or more. One man averaged over \$100 for 8 days. I dug near Cospar & obtained about 3½ oz. Mr D[ouglass] being unwell did not work much.

Tues [Aug.] 22. Dug in same place & obtained about the same as yesterday. The am[ount] for the two days for Mr D[ouglass] & myself is 7^{oz} 4½^{dols} or 3^{oz} 10¼^d for each of us.

Wed. [Aug. 23^d]. Spent the day in camp preparing to depart this P.M. Mr D[ouglass] moves his camp to the place where we have dug the last two days. He sends down by me to San Francisco nearly \$1400 of Gold. The amt of all the gold I have dug the last two months or since I arrived in the mines is not far from \$1440 at \$16 the ounce, which with \$160 in gold collected for Mr Neligh for surveying Com Stockton's Ranch makes \$1600 which I take down with me, or just 100 ounces, or 8½ pounds Troy.

Our cattle having gone astray we did not get off as early as we intended. We started an hour before sunset & reached the diggings at Webbers Creek about 5 miles distant soon after eight. Here we encamped for the night, with no grass for our animals.

Several camps are still here & among them Mr York's with a large assortment of goods. Webber has moved his camp to the new diggings further south.

Thurs. 24 Aug. Rose at 3½ & started on with out breakfast. Morning very cold. Chilly with two overcoats on. Sleep interrupted last night by a horse treading around my bed, the former being tied to the tongue of the waggon & the latter being spread on the ground beside it.

Reached a watering place five miles out at which we encamped 2 nights on our way up about 6½ AM. Here too took breakfast, & then drove to the forks of the road 8 Miles further where we stopped an hour & a half or till a quarter before one to rest & feed our animals, & take dinner. Here was the first good grazing we had found. Our route thus far has been about W S W.

Started at a quarter before one & drove on 12 or 13 miles, to a place where we halted for the night, there being grass but no water, we reached this place at dusk. Our supper we took about 3 miles back at a fine rill of water.

Frid Aug 25. Rose at 3¾ & started on, the morning being beautiful & not so chilly as we had been accustomed to in the Mts. At about 9 AM reached Daily's [William Daly] on the Cosumnes, where we halted for breakfast & rest, having driven about 12 miles, which would make the distance by our estimate, from Webbers Diggings to Dailys About 38 miles.

At Daily's we were joined by Messrs Anthony & Cospar who had gone by way of Sutters Mill.

At 11 AM started on. Messrs A[nthony] & C[ospar] & the Portuguese Sailor on horse back. Mr Case & his son in the waggon, 3 miles down the river we stopped to bathe. We are now out of the hills & the country presents the appearance of a rolling prairie, or plain

rising into gentle declivities. A strong breeze has been blowing from the N which makes the weather cool & I have worn a thick coat most of the P.M.

The road all the distance thus far is good & well traveled.

Near Daily's met Mr Montgomery returning from an exploration of the various new diggings. He had been as far as the Stanislaus & reports gold in greater or less abundance on that & all the intermediate streams from 30 to 50 miles in from their mouths or midway in the Mts as on the Am[erican] Fork. But as yet the gold tho beautiful does not seem to be so abundant as at the dry digging. It is more water worn & consequently smoother & more rounded. He showed some specimens which he had obtained himself & his companion dug 6^{oz} in 2 or 3 hours. This was in a ravine 4 or 5 miles from the river Stanislaus. There are not many digging yet besides Indians.

Reached Dry Creek 16 miles from Daily's at about sunset, encamped for the night.

Sat [Aug.] 26. Cattle missing. Sun an hour high before we started. 8 or 9 miles on reached the Mukelemnnes [Mokelumne] which is now fordable. Several companies are encamped here temporarily, among them Mr Neligh & Dr Cory. Dr C[ory] is sick of fever, but getting better. Remained here till after Dinner which we took at Mr Hopper's table. 8 miles further on we reached the Calavaras, which is now dry except standing pools, crossed below Dr Isbels. Stopped awhile to bait our horses.

Reached French Camp 11 miles on at the head of a Slough setting up from the river at 9 PM & encamped for the night, 2 or 3 other parties encamped here on their way to the Stanislaus.

Sun [Aug.] 27th. No grass for animals. Mr. Anthony unwell, & considering all things we found it necessary to move on, so as not to remain in the pestilential vicinity of the San Joaquin longer than we might be obliged to do.

Ten miles bro't us to the River & in an hour we were over, a boat being ready for the use of travelers. After a little refreshment on the bank of the R[iver] we drove on 7 miles to a slough where we encamped. The River we found low but not fordable. This crossing was very different from what we had experienced 2 months & a half ago when we went up. There is now no water in the sloughs. Saw the grave of Mr [William] Whiteman who was drowned in one of the sloughs 2 months ago.

The Wests were camped at the same place with us. Mosquitoes very numerous, no sleep. Took my bed & carried it some distance from the timber into the plain, but all of no use. Could not get a

wink of sleep. Stood it till 1 AM then got up & went to cooking. Ate breakfast at 3½. Started out at 5. 10 miles bro't us to the base of the hills. 8 more to a large rock near the "Divide" under the shadow of which we slept some 3 hours to make up for last night. Stopped 2 miles before reaching Livermores to bait, & get dinner, passed Livermores at dusk & reached a fine grassy camping place at 10 PM, having travelled about 35 miles—viz 10 to the hills, 12 thro hills, 5 over plain to dining place & 8 to camp.

Tues. 28 Aug. Started at 5 went on 3 miles & breakfasted. 8 more brought us to the Mission of San Jose where we filled ourselves with some most delicious pears, no melons were ripe, we got some green corn 3 miles on & took along to roast.

Left the Mission at 12½. Stopped at the Sta Clara bridge to roast our corn & take a lunch, & Mr Anthony & the sailor took the road to San Francisco & Mr Cospar & myself that to the Pueblo which we reached at dusk.

Wed. Oct 4th. Packing & getting ready to be off.

We take with us 10 cwt of Flour, 200 cwt onions, & an invoice of Goods amounting to \$2147.50 at Pueblo prices.

Thurs. Oct. 5. Dug some onions before breakfast to take with us to eat. Started about 11 AM. Passed the Mission at dark & encamped a mile or two beyond among the hills. Slept under the waggon.

Frid. [Oct.] 6. Started at 8, a little way on the waggon got stuck in crossing a gulch & hindered till 10. Went on about 4 miles & stopped to dine. Cattle very slow. Started at 3½ went 3 miles & camped, this being the best grass with water this side of the San Joaquin.

Sat. [Oct.] 7th. Rose before the sun, night cold, frost. Some tea left in the kettle was frozen solid. Started at 8½ AM reached Livermores 8^m at 11½. Got some grapes, 2 clusters for a Real [12½ cents]. Stopped to water & dine at the Sausal 1½ miles beyond.

Started at 3½ & reached the watering place in the hills at 8 PM 10 miles, no grass, water as plenty as last June, no dew.

Sun. [Oct. 8th]. Started at 7, cool & pleasant. Reached watering place at slough 15 miles at 2 PM. Thousands of antelopes, elks, & horses on the plain. Encamped at slough 5 miles further on & two from Pescadero [Pescadero] crossing of the San Joaquin. Not troubled with mosquitos.

Mon. [Oct.] 9th. Crossed the river & encamped a mile & a half beyond this being the last water for 15 miles.

A company of men having started a ferry at the crossing, have now two common boats, designing to put on a flat bottomed ferry boat as soon as practicable. Fare \$1. for man, \$8. for waggon & load.

Tues. [Oct.] 10th. Took a direct course across the plain for the Stanislaus 15 miles or more, sandy & hard wheeling. Cattle heated, stopped several hours on plain to rest, reached the river at 8 PM. Grass plenty.

Wed. [Oct.] 11th. Passed up the river over a sandy bad road 9 or 10 miles to the ford which we reached sun 2 hours high, could not ford with the waggon without wetting goods, carried things over by hand & up the steep bank, camped on the other side, good grass, some horses of our company lost.

Thurs. 12th Oct. Started at 7. Road mainly up the river for several miles then diverging to the right, it became hilly & bad. A few miles further on came to an ox waggon belonging to Savage & Co. which had remained 4 days in the same place the oxen having been lost. Not coming up with our traveling companions, we encamped here for the night there being now of our company with the waggon only Wilkes & a Californian with myself.

Friday 13th Oct. Started in good season, still the rock is sandstone, had bad hills to ascend, traveled slowly, stopped in the eve where there was some grass but not water.

Sat. [Oct.] 14. Went on 4 or 5 miles & breakfasted at a spring where there was considerable grass, I went 5 miles to explore & returned, remained till PM & then went on to a plain where we found considerable grass & good water. This is a romantic & secluded place 2 miles or so in width & nearly surrounded by walls of trap or basalt presenting the appearance of a huge volcanic crater, which the ignorant seem to regard it. The road enters it as well as makes its exit thro' a deep notch, in the bottom of which the rock appears to be a sort of slate. Several miles before entering this place the rock is slate, similar to that at the Dry Diggings on the Am[erican] fork, dipping nearly perpendicularly & trending N W or N N W.

Sun [Oct.] 15. Our travelling companions, some Italians with a country cart, being essential in assisting us up some difficult hills we were obliged to go on a few miles to day, extremely against my inclination, we went on 4 or 5 miles, passed the first camps & a mile further on crossed over a high ridge of basalt, just beyond which we encamped, no grass but plenty of water.

Mon [Oct.] 16. Rose early, had several difficult miles to ascend.

Four or 5 miles on reached an Indian Rancheria, where Dan Murphy has a camp selling goods for Webber. Early in the forenoon we broke the tongue of our waggon in crossing a ravine & spent 3 hours in repairing damages. Waited at the Rancheria an hour. Sold 71 lbs of flour for \$1.50 a pound, some sugar at \$3.00 & Tea at \$4.00, also some flour & sugar to the Indians. 2 miles on had a bad hill to ascend at which the Cattle "balked" obliging us to push up most of our load on my mule. Reached Gulnacs camp at dusk.

The day cloudy & threatening rain. Spread my blanket on the ground & turned in. About midnight awoke & found it raining but only slightly, hoping it would stop hauled my blanket over my head & went to sleep, at 4 woke again, raining quite fast, rose, put up my bed & went into Gulnacs tent. It rained but little & only a few sprinklings after daylight.

Tues. [Oct.] 17. Day cloudy & damp, put up tent, many people buying goods flour onions etc. Did not sell very much however. Many camps in this valley, little gold dug at present. Most people trading, market overstocked.

Wed 18. Oct. Sold most of our flour at \$14 per 25 lbs, onions & dry goods almost no sale.

Thurs & Frid. [Oct. 19th & 20th.] Very little trade, people leaving, diggings poor, few getting more than 1 or 2 oz per day.

Examined the rich ravine where a piece said to weigh 15 or 20 lbs of pure gold was taken out. The rock on which the gold lies appears to be a species of gneiss, very hard & resembling basalt. The strata running about N N W & dipping 75° or 80° easterly. In passing down the creek to the lower camps 5 or 6 miles various successive strata of slates present themselves with about the same direction & inclination. The gold is found here as elsewhere only in the drift or diluvium. In this region most of the gold is taken from dry ravines setting into the main creek which runs into the river Tuallomy [Tuolumne], in south westerly direction. 5 to 6 miles below where the deposit has been found very rich the gold occurs in the main stream resting on the same kind of rock mentioned above. Quartz is abundant in the region, & I noticed some dykes or beds of it several yards in thickness, between beds or strata of the slatey rocks.

Sat 21st Oct. Lost my mem. book with Mr Ricord's note of \$350. on the path to the lower camps.

Sun. 22^d Oct 1848. Staid in camp, reading. Much noise & drinking in neighboring camps. A great deal of gambling done here. Gold sells for \$5 to \$8. per ounce.

Wed. [Oct.] 25. Made sale of the remains of our invoice at cost to Mr Den, this being the best disposal we could make of it. Our expedition has not been as profitable as we had hoped. We have cleared however about \$400 apiece. While we have done this others have done 10 or 20 times as much, especially those who sell grog, which I would not be engaged in for all the gold of the Plaero. One man tells me that since he opened his grog shop 7 days ago he had made \$7000 or over \$1000 a day. Last Sunday he took in \$2000 half of it in cash, the first day he cleared more than the whole cost of his stock. A dram cost on an average \$2. or more.

As a specimen of the prices at the Plaero I mention the following, which have been the prices at this place within the month past

Flour per lb \$.50 to 4.00, Sugar per lb 1.00 to 4.00, Tobacco 2.00 to 4.00, Tea per oz 1.00, Coffee 1.00 to 3.00, Bullocks \$50. to 100., Salt per lb 3.00, Onions per 100 lbs 64., Butcher Knives 3.00 to 8.00, Shoes 16.00, Candles tallow .50 sperm 1.00, Dried pears per lb 2.00

From the Indians all sorts of prices are taken & much deception is practiced. [James D.] Savage used an ounce weight which counterpoised 11 silver dollars. A common practice is to use a two oz weight for an oz &c. Gold sells for 6 to 8 dollars an oz in cash. It has been down to 3 & 4 among the gamblers, which have been very numerous here. For the last two days several hundred people have left this valley, & it now looks quite desolate.

Thurs [Oct.] 26. Started at 9 AM for home, with 4 sailors in company who had just arrived & being sadly disappointed in their expectations had applied to us for passage down. We traveled from 20 to 30 miles a day & reached the Pueblo Wednesday Nov 1st the distance being not far from 135 or 140 miles.

One eve in approaching the Stanislaus Wilks went on ahead to find the road leading to our intended camping place, after finding it & before reaching the waggon his horse gave out & he was obliged to take up his lodgings under an oak without coat or blanket. Meanwhile we reached the place of encampment with the waggon. Wilks came up in the morning & informed us that 3 bears had followed on our track the night before, & had been very near where he was lying. We at the waggon did not get ready to turn in till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12.

We saw many poor horses on the road which having been worn out with hardships were turned adrift to die of starvation. One poor creature on the wide plain out of pure charity we undertook to lead to water 4 or 5 miles distant. He was made fast to the waggon to lead behind, but on arriving at the watering place in the eve the horse was missing, & was found a few rods back near the water to which we had

been bringing him to drink choked to death, having been dragged by the neck nearly a mile behind the waggon.

The Stanislaus where we crossed it, several miles above the usual crossing, was fordable the water not being over 18 inches deep.

The San Joaquin was also fordable at the Pescadero [Pescadero] crossing being much lower than where we went up, the water about half filling the body of the waggon. My trunk & other articles I took over in one of the boats.

Not having reserved a sufficient supply of provisions for our large family we were obliged to buy flour & beef at the San Joaquin. The ferrymen keep flour for sale at \$20 per cwt.

The weather was beautiful all the way down, nights cool, days comfortable & pleasant. The plain of the San Joaquin was covered with wild geese, many Ducks, Cranes also made their appearance. Likewise many wild horses & antelopes.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season we met great numbers of people on their way to the Plaero. At a small pool of water just at the entrance into the hills we found a modest appearing lad of Dutch origin, a recently discharged volunteer. He was alone, his saddle & blankets lying on the ground & his horse, which appeared to be in the last stage of starvation, grazing the almost barren ground near by. The poor fellow said he had nothing to eat had been separated from his companions two days & with the rest of his company had subsisted for the last 10 days on horse flesh, still he was bent on reaching the Mines.

The evening before reaching home I got sadly poisoned with the yedera [yedra] or Ivy in searching for wood after dark for a campfire.

Wed Nov 1st 1848. Reached the Pueblo at noon washed & shaved & changed. Had not shaved since I left, four weeks.

Thurs. [Nov.] 2^d. Scores of volunteers from the South have passed through the town today on their way to the Plaero. They go prepared to spend the winter.

Frid. [Nov.] 3^d. Settled accounts with Mr Wilks & found I had cleared on the recent trip to the Gold Region \$450.00.

Tues. [Apr.] 3^d [1849]. Saw Col Mason from Mont[ere]y on his way to San F[rancisco]. 2^d steamer at M[onterey] on Sat. & reached San F. yesterday Morn. News to Feb 1st Nothing of much importance but the gold excitement.

Thurs. [Apr.] 5th. This morn Prof Forrest Shepard of New Haven arrived from San Fran[cis]co having come out in the steamer

Oregon. Rec'd also letters Sister Mary & Cousin Martha & Mr Pratt of Meriden. Great excitement at home about the gold. Everybody coming.

Frid. [Apr.] 6. Busy every leisure moment preparing letters for home. Sent some specimens of Gold 15 dwts to Father, 4 specimens to E Strong & 24 dwts to Cabinet of Yale, $6\frac{1}{2}$ dwts to D W W [Delia Williams Wood]. Sent them all to Rev E. Strong Care of Rev Mr Hallock at the Tract house N. Y. to be taken by Capt Thomas. Mr. Douglass started this PM for San F. taking the letters.

Wed 15th Aug. 10 AM landed at San Fran^{co}. Streets full. Great change in the last 6 weeks.

Thurs. [Oct.] 10th [11th]. Rained nearly all day, the first this season. Great damage to goods in the streets, probably over 100,000 dols worth destroyed. Capt Simon had 36,000 dols worth partly under water in Sacramento Street. Little steamer *Mint* made her first trip up the River, the first boat from this place thro' to Sacramento.

Steamer *Cal^a* arrived brot no U S Mail, a private mail bro't 2000 letters. Recd one from DWW [Delia W. Wood], others from other friends by private hands. 430 passengers. Messrs Pratt & Paddock among them.

People extra busy in raising up buildings, substituting wood roofs for cloth &c &c, a new impulse to building given by the Rain. City growing astonishingly.

Wed. 31st Oct. *Unicorn* Steamer in but no mail. Great indignation in town. PM 5 ock. Steamer *Panama* in, brot the mails down to Sept 16. Great rejoicing.

Frid [Nov.] 2^d, & Sat 3^d. Cloudy, some rain thro' the day & much at night with high wind causing several vessels in port to drag anchor, & doing some damage. Steamer *Senator* dragged several miles. Streets very muddy. Many exposed goods damaged.

Frid 7th Dec. Finished survey. Eve. walked to Sⁿ José. Dr Lee called on me, had lost all he had in getting to the Mines & spent the 100 dols I let him have, & now comes to me as he says as his last resort to keep from starvation.

[Dec.] 8th Sat. Paid Dr Lees passage up & his board for several days to come, & spent most of the day in trying to start a school for him, can find scholars enough, but no room. Must take him as chain-man.

Sat [Dec.] 11th. Steamer *Mint* came up, bringing scores of Legislators, office seekers etc.

[Dec.] 22^d Mon. Started at 4 AM in stage for Alviso. Thick fog. Team tired. Driver half blind, lost road, went round & round on the plain, an hour getting a mile. Overtook the Baggage waggon which also had lost its way in the fog. Took the Baggage waggon the rest of the way, team good, reached Alviso about 7½. Waited on board the Steamer *Sacramento* 1½ h^s for the other stages. Steamer started about 9, left the creek at 11, reached Sⁿ F. 4 PM, thick fog on the Bay till 1 PM. Water smooth & pleasant passage.

Great fire in Sⁿ F this morning. Parker house & 20 or thirty other buildings burnt. Loss estimated 1,000,000. Mr Phelps office in danger. Everything moved on board ship *Huntress*. My 4 trunks among the rest. Slept on board the *Huntress*, Capt Goodwin. Mrs G[oodwin] with him.

Jan 12 [1850]. Have been in San Francisco the last fortnight & over, arranging my business preparatory to leaving for home. It is very slow doing business here, have now nearly made my arrangements, & concluded them as successfully as I had anticipated. Made a map of Sacramento & did some other work enough to pay expenses. Hope to leave by Feb 15 or Mar 1st.

Vessels arrive every day. In one day 12 came in. The city grows as rapidly as ever. Money however is very scarce.

Streets shockingly muddy some of them almost impassable.

SOME FACTS CONCERNING LELAND STANFORD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES IN PLACER COUNTY

An article in *Stanford Illustrated Review*, for June, 1923, and a half-tone therein from my Placer county collections, of the first Stanford house at Michigan Bluff, Placer county, in the early '50s, have brought requests for unpublished data from these collections.¹ Replies to solicitations for these notes for publication in the *Quarterly* and elsewhere have heretofore been made to the effect that the data was unsuitable for these purposes.

A number of errors in the article in the Stanford periodical are so palpable they are not here corrected. Dr. David Starr Jordan's narrative poem relating to Stanford, "On the North Fork," quoted therein, must be discarded as historically inaccurate. Utterances of its toll-gate keeper that Stanford drove a grocer's cart are as erroneous as some of the poem's geography. To poetic license must be attributed Stanford's driving that grocer's cart from Clipper Gap. This railroad station was not in existence until a number of years later, when the great quadrumvirate—Crocker, Huntington, Hopkins and Stanford—established it on the line of the Central Pacific.

Stanford told incidents of his early Placer life in an address from the rear of his private railroad car at Auburn in 1890.²

The year of arrival of Stanford at Michigan Bluff—at first called Michigan City—is unknown to the writer. General merchandising was his business here. In this he was in some way associated with a Captain "Nick" Smith. He was also justice of the peace, which office he resigned in 1855,³ when he left Placer county. As justice, he took acknowledgments to a number of papers now on file in the Placer records. Only a few years ago, his justice's docket was in existence.

Avoid the impression that Stanford was an uncouth miner. Instead of driving a grocer's cart, more probably he was directing his eight-horse and ten-horse teams coming into Michigan Bluff, via the North Fork or Murderers' Bar roads, or his outgoing long mule trains to Last Chance and points on the Middle Fork of the American.

Michigan Bluff is located upon what is locally called "the divide"—in the '50s called the Yankee Jim's and now the Forest Hill

¹ Mainly MS. interviews—after the Lyman C. Draper method—with about 60 Placer pioneers, or their children, on unprinted facts concerning one of the most important California gold areas; and newspaper files of Placer county.

² *Placer Republican*, October 15, 1890.

³ *Placer Herald*, June 9, 1855, says: "L. Stanford, Esq., of Michigan Bluff, has resigned the office of Justice of the Peace. The Board of Supervisors have appointed James T. Higbee to fill the vacancy."

"divide." This is the mining country between the North and Middle Forks of the American river, just east of and adjoining the Auburn district.

Mention of Auburn calls to mind another connection of Placer people with "the Railroad." Judge Samuel W. Holladay, later of San Francisco, was in 1849 alcalde of Auburn. His son, E. Burke Holladay, married a niece of Collis P. Huntington, one of Stanford's associates. Judge E. B. Crocker, of Sacramento, brother of Charles Crocker, of "the Railroad," was a law partner of C. W. Langdon, with a branch office at Auburn in 1855. But I must not permit myself space to name the large number of Placer pioneer celebrities living in the county outside "the divide," but confine myself to the latter section.

Another camp on "the divide" was Yankee Jim's, named for a notorious character, who possibly came to the Sacramento valley before the gold discovery, although this has not been noted by any California historian. In his "California Pilgrim," published at Sacramento in 1853, under the patronage of D. O. Mills and others, the Reverend J. A. Benton describes Yankee Jim's as a rather wild early camp.

Near Yankee Jim's was Todd's Valley, founded by Dr. F. Walton Todd, a cousin of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. Mrs. F. Walton Todd was one of the Kentucky Bullitts, in honor of a member of which family, Bullitt county, Kentucky, is named. Another near-by town in the group was Forest Hill, and across Shirt Tail canyon was Iowa Hill.

In the early mining life on "the divide," Stanford came into contact and friendship with many men and families who became noted in California.

At Michigan Bluff, "Ned" Tyler was express agent, and was killed there in a hydraulic mine. He was an uncle of Judge F. W. Henshaw, of the supreme court of California, and Tyler Henshaw of Oakland, children of "Ned" Tyler's only sister. Charles T. Blake, of Michigan Bluff, was an honor man at Yale. He married Miss Harriet Waters Stiles, of Oakland, whose father, Anson J. Stiles, gave Stiles hall to the University of California.

Charles A. Tuttle, a graduate of Hobart College, conducted a miners' store at Bird's valley, adjoining Michigan Bluff. He became one of California's ablest lawyers. He was in the '50s in the California state senate, and later was code commissioner and state supreme court reporter. From the College of California, forerunner of the University of California, he received the degree of A. M. for his distinguished services to that institution.

Jim Beckwourth was at El Dorado canyon, adjoining Michigan Bluff, in 1850. His story was in part taken down that year by Philip

Stoner, and was finished later by Bonner. However, Beckwourth had left El Dorado canyon before Stanford's advent. The same early departure may be noted of J. D. Hoppe, publisher of the *Californian*. He led a party from Sutter's Fort as early as 1848 to the American river, a short way down the precipitous mountain from Michigan Bluff.

Among the men of Yankee Jim's who became prominent in after life was James Herrick, who went east and became president of a railroad running into Chicago. Dr. P. B. Fagen removed to Santa Cruz, where he became a banker. A. P. K. Safford, a Placer assemblyman, later became territorial governor of Arizona. Robert O. Cravens, as state librarian, did much to build up the department of Americana at the California state library. Samuel Todd, at one time merchant at Yankee Jim's, became proprietor of the Cosmopolitan, a famous San Francisco pioneer hotel. R. E. Hyde, another merchant, became a leading banker of the southern San Joaquin, at Visalia. Dr. Bristow, a talented and hospitable Virginian of Yankee Jim's, I think fell in the Confederate States army.

James E. Hale, of Yankee Jim's and Auburn, was lawyer, judge, legislator, state supreme court reporter and president of the Sacramento, Placer and Nevada Railroad Company. This was one of the first California railroads of the Folsom group.

Curtis J. Hillyer, attorney of Yankee Jim's and Iowa Hill, became the famous Bonanza lawyer, and was afterward socially prominent in Washington, D. C. He was a Yale graduate at a time when everyone did not have a college degree. His brother, E. W. Hillyer, became a lieutenant-colonel of California civil war troops and an eminent Nevada federal judge. They were cousins of H. H. Bancroft, the historian.

C. C. Dudley, of Iowa Hill, a Placer assemblyman, was later a member of the territorial legislature of Idaho, which state he helped to organize. Brilliant Charles Westmoreland, a Georgian, of Iowa Hill, was an able editor of the Marysville *Appeal* and a Placer senator of the '50s. While carrying the California electoral vote to Washington he died at Panama. William M. Crutcher, an amiable Kentuckian, became noted for his intrepidity as an officer in his relations with Rattlesnake Dick and Tom Bell, two of California's most notorious and picturesque highwaymen, and in the '70s was a member of the California legislature. General R. L. Williams, another Kentuckian of the Iowa Hill vicinity, was a Placer assemblyman in the '50s, and an officer under Walker in Nicaragua. The parents of George Ladd lived at Iowa Hill, where they were locally prominent. The son became president of the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company with interior lines in California, Arizona and Nevada. His widow, Mrs.

Elizabeth Paterson Mitchell, founded the George Ladd Prix de Paris, at the University of California, for the study of music in Paris by students of superior merit.

At Forest Hill was William H. Hardy, leading merchant, who went to Arizona in 1865, and founded Hardysville in that state, six miles north of Fort Mojave. He was a member of the territorial legislature of Arizona. Dr. H. J. Crumpton, Forest Hill mining man, a genial Alabaman, went to Lake county, and was in the California legislature. He lost most of his fortune in the fall of the Confederacy. His brother, Washington B. Crumpton, who resided at Forest Hill for some time, returned to Alabama, where he has been known as a beloved leader of the Baptist denomination. Philip Deidesheimer was educated at Heidelberg. After \$300,000 had been taken from the Deidesheimer claim at Forest Hill, he went to Washoe. There his invention for timbering mines made the Comstock possible.

Isaac L. Requa, who lived for a number of years at Stony Bar on the Middle Fork of the American river, just underneath Forest Hill, afterward was social and financial magnate of Oakland. A daughter married General Oscar F. Long, of the United States army. A son is Mark L. Requa, the mining engineer, who was general director of the oil division of the fuel administration and assistant to Herbert C. Hoover during the world war.

Old Comstock, from whom the Comstock lode took its name, mined at Canada hill, on the upper part of "the divide."

C. T. H. Palmer, who was early on "the divide," was subsequently an Auburn and Folsom banker and Berkeley resident. He married a daughter of the distinguished pioneer engineer, Sherman Day, and granddaughter of Jeremiah Day, president of Yale.

No mention has been made of the "floating" population on "the divide." This included John W. Mackay, who mined on the Middle Fork of the American river underneath Michigan Bluff, and James W. Marshall, "the discoverer."

Nor have I named those who came to "the divide" and became celebrated after Stanford left in 1855. Among these was Jo Hamilton, of Forest Hill, who took up an Auburn residence. He became attorney-general of California and was one of the most remarkable orators of the frontier Methodist type, during the pioneer period. Mrs. Hamilton, who was a blood relation of her husband, was a niece of John Blair, the Tennessee statesman and member of Congress of the early Republic. She was a cousin of Captain Francis Simpson Blair, C. S. A., attorney-general of Virginia.

The foregoing list is a decidedly remarkable showing of men in a

few years for a few small contiguous mining camps. With the exception of Beckwourth, Washington B. Crumpton, Bristow and Hamilton, and possibly Hoppe, Marshall and Mackay—Stanford knowing Hamilton, Marshall and Mackay in later years—all of these and other splendid men of "the divide," were friends of Leland Stanford when he lived in Placer in the '50s, and later when he lived in Sacramento and San Francisco.

Perhaps in some respects the leading citizen of "the divide" was Colonel William McClure, of "Welcome Cottage," on Devil's canyon, one mile from Yankee Jim's. This home was the show place of "the divide," a handsome place for its time. A part of the abandoned house is still standing in the mountains, surrounded by an orchard of ten acres. These trees, which were ordered in 1852 from a New Jersey nurseryman, were planted in 1853 and were the first shipment of eastern fruit trees to California. Colonel McClure had been a member of the constitutional convention of Illinois of 1847, and was for two decades a ditch owner and leader in politics and the public life of "the divide." Governor J. B. Weller, while a guest of Colonel McClure, opened his state campaign for governor at Yankee Jim's in 1857.

Colonel McClure was a traveling companion to California with General Jacob Fry, an Illinois colonel of the Black Hawk war, a major-general of Illinois militia, canal commissioner of Chicago in its incipient days and holder of other offices in Illinois. Fry was one of Placer county's two first state senators. He returned to the east, had a regiment out in the civil war and distinguished himself at Shiloh. He was the father of General James B. Fry, U. S. A., provost marshal-general of the army of the United States at the end of the civil war. Colonel J. D. Fry, San Francisco banker, was a nephew of General Jacob Fry; and the latter's grandniece, Mrs. W. C. Ralston, still living at Georgetown, California, was the wife of W. C. Ralston, president of the Bank of California and builder of the Palace hotel. General Jacob Fry spent much of his time on "the divide," but had his legal residence at Frytown, near the present Ophir, in another part of Placer county. There Colonel J. D. Fry had a miners' store. William Sharon, afterward San Francisco banker and United States Senator from Nevada, had some kind of an interest in this station in the very early '50s.

Colonel William McClure's name is now represented by his grandson, Major L. A. McClure, U. S. A.

I have been very fortunate in obtaining, after many pleas to her to furnish data, a letter for my collections from Colonel McClure's daughter, Miss Margaret M. McClure, an old friend of my mother and

a friend of mine since boyhood. Because I as a child knew most of the old Sacramentans and Placerites, this letter is very charming reading to me. It should be preserved in permanent printed form.

Miss Margaret M. McClure was a reigning belle of California in the late '50s and early '60s. She came with her mother in 1857 via Panama from a Philadelphia seminary to "Welcome Cottage" on "the divide." Notwithstanding her "eighty-five brief winters," "Maggie" McClure—for none of the old Californians call her anything but "Miss Maggie" or "Maggie" McClure—is as vivacious and delightful as she was in California's pioneer epoch. Today, she is a member of the household at Reno of former Governor Emmet D. Boyle, of Nevada, who married her niece.

Following is "Maggie" McClure's letter, which rescues incidents of Governor Stanford's early California life:

Reno, Nevada, April 30, 1923.

Dear Boutwell Dunlap:

I have tried to think up the dates of Mrs. Stanford's visits to "the divide." My eighty-five brief winters have dimmed my eyes, numbed my fingers and almost "shut down" my memory.

As I recall it, Mrs. Stanford came to Forest Hill to visit Mrs. Webster in the spring of 1858, and was at "Welcome Cottage" several times during the visit. We all went up to Michigan Bluff for the ride and to see the Stanford house there. Mrs. Stanford enjoyed the beautiful ride and was in love with "the divide." She visited us all again in the summer of '59, was also there during the Governor's campaign, and once after the Railroad was built.

Mr. Webster, Charles Blake and Ned Tyler were Yale classmates and came to California together. Blake and Tyler located at Michigan Bluff, where Tyler was Wells, Fargo agent. Webster was also Wells, Fargo agent at Forest Hill. Mr. Webster came with his bride, a charming and accomplished lady, from Fall River, Massachusetts. While he was fitting up a home, he left her in Sacramento. She boarded at the same house at which Mrs. Stanford was boarding. They were always friends. Mrs. Webster and I were close friends until her death. Her only son, living in New York, corresponds with me occasionally. Ned Tyler and Charles Blake entertained Mrs. Stanford when we were at Michigan Bluff.

I was Governor and Mrs. Stanford's guest, when he was inaugurated at Sacramento as Governor of California, and later went with them to San Francisco. I am the only one left of the happy circle at the inauguration.

The heavy rains of 1861 overflowed the levees of both the Sacramento and American rivers, and the newly-elected governor and party had to go to the capitol, then on Seventh and I streets, in little row-boats. On starting from the house the water was up to the steps and rising rapidly. On returning the Governor and party had to climb up a ladder to the second story to enter the house. They found the piano floating in the reception room, and had to fasten it to the banisters of the stairway to keep it from banging against the walls and furniture.

Food was sent to the Governor's home from San Francisco by steamboat every day. After taking from the hampers food for the family for the day, the remainder was sent to the pavilion, where the refugees from the country around Sacramento and also the people from the one-story buildings in the city were taken. The kind-hearted Mrs. Stanford never failed to take just enough food for her family and send all the rest to the flood sufferers.

One night a flotilla of small boats came to the house and gave a lovely song serenade—a bright moonlight night—good voices and sweet songs. Governor and Mrs. Stanford stood on the upper porch, enjoyed the beautiful sight and almost felt they were in Venice. The Governor made a cheerful speech. Hurrahs and songs were heard for some time as they rowed away—one of the delightful memories of the unfortunate time. The host gave his house-party many boat-rides through the city—and they made short calls from the boats on inmates of the upper stories, exchanging accidents and events.

As soon as a suitable place could be found, the legislature was adjourned to San Francisco. Mrs. Stanford continued to send food to the flood victims at the pavilion in Sacramento. Mr. Phillip Stanford turned his home over for the Governor's mansion, and many people enjoyed the Stanford's hospitality. Many friendships were formed that lasted to ends of lives. After the flood was over, the Governor returned to Sacramento. Mrs. Stanford did many kindnesses to those unfortunate in the flood.

After the Central Pacific Railroad was a world success, the lovely home in San Francisco was built. The beloved son, however, was born in Sacramento. Such delight was expressed by all their friends that a son at last was born to them.

Mrs. Stanford was a remarkable woman and a devoted, faithful wife. She was a very ambitious woman—her husband not so ambitious. Her young life spent in Albany, New York, and her intimacy with Theodore Parker's family, of whom she most frequently spoke, and other rising Americans, gave her a taste for politics.

The winter Milton S. Latham was inaugurated governor of Cali-

foria, and a few weeks afterward elected to the United States Senate, she said to a lady friend, after calling on Mrs. Latham (who was in too ill health to accompany her husband to Washington)—“I am determined Leland shall be Governor of California—and United States Senator—and—” Then she stopped. That was before her son was born. After the Central Pacific Railroad was completed, the same lady said to her—“Are you not prouder to have your husband president of the wonderful Central Pacific Railroad than to be President of the United States?”

Mrs. Stanford was a most gracious hostess all her Sacramento life. After her bliss with her son, Leland Stanford, Jr.—they were such close companions, always taking trips together—on that last great trip in Europe, where the fatal Roman fever took her beloved idol from her, she almost lost her reason. Then came the thought to build the great University in his name. She told her old friends it was an inspiration from her dear boy, in dreams he helped her and every new plan and thought seemed to come from him.

One day after they were so beautifully situated in their charming Palo Alto home, she had a group of old friends down for the day. It seemed an enchanted place. One friend said—“Mrs. Stanford, you never can be happy in Heaven after this place.” She stopped. With an almost sobbing voice, the reply was—“But in Heaven I shall have my dear boy.” Everyone was silenced and her great sorrow impressed every friend.

And was not Leland Stanford, Junior’s, death one of the great blessings of our country? His devoted mother’s heart felt she must do something for him—or her reason would go. And she—as so she felt, through him—started the great university. Faithful, true women, like Mrs. Leland Stanford, should be known better. She did not give up to overpowering grief. But out of the great grief of her life, gave an institution to build up to good the youth of our country.

Affectionately,

MAGGIE McCLURE.

BOUTWELL DUNLAP.

BUTTERFIELD'S OVERLAND MAIL

For two decades before the establishment of the great Butterfield Overland Mail in 1858 there had been considerable agitation throughout the United States for an improved method of communication between the east and west coasts. Asa Whitney and others played a prominent part in the advocacy of a Pacific railroad, but during the forties the scheme gave little promise of immediate realization.

The first regular United States mail service to the Pacific Coast was inaugurated in 1847.¹ It was a monthly ocean mail carried via the Isthmus of Panama. Overland mail service to the inter-mountain region was begun in 1850,² but it was on a schedule that permitted a single team to make the entire trip. One such line ran from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, another from San Antonio, Texas, to Santa Fe; a third ran from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City, and a fourth from Sacramento to the Mormon capital. These latter two might be considered as constituting one through line, but since the time consumed in making the trip was so great, this route was employed for communication with the inter-mountain region only. The ocean mail made much better time and was used exclusively for through correspondence.

During the early fifties the Pacific railroad project was pushed with increased vigor. In the second session of the 32d Congress (1852-3) the Senate gave more time and attention to this project than to any other.³ In January, 1853, Senator Gwin of California, introduced a bill to authorize the construction of a Pacific railroad. A trunk line was to run from San Francisco by way of Albuquerque and along the Red River. Numerous branches were provided for. In fact the bill was framed to satisfy the demands of all sections. The result was a proposition too extensive to be practicable. It was, as Senator Cass said, "too magnificent"⁴ to get the necessary support, and the bill failed. However, the discussions had shown the need of more accurate information on the subject, and so the Army Appropriation Bill of March, 1853, was amended to provide for the survey of such routes as the Secretary of War should deem expedient.⁵ Five corps of engineers were put into the field and five transcontinental routes were explored.⁶

¹ United States Statutes at Large, IX: 187.

² Little, *Mail Service Across the Plains*, p. 1. (Bancroft Mss.)

³ Davis, *The Union Pacific Railway*, p. 44.

⁴ Congressional Globe 32d Cong. 2d Sess. Vol. XXVI, p. 285.

⁵ Cong. Globe 32d Cong. 2d Sess. Appendix p. 352. Laws of the United States, Chap. 36; sec. 10, Approved Mar. 3, 1853.

⁶ Albright, George L. "Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads."

By 1855 the reports of the explorations were before Congress and it was evident that there were several practical routes. In January, 1855, Senator Douglas introduced a bill providing for the construction of three railroad lines to the Pacific. It passed the Senate by a close vote,⁷ but failed in the House of Representatives. A contest which ensued dissipated the support of the general proposition. There was a majority in each house of Congress in favor of the general project of a Pacific railroad, but slavery sectionalism had become so strong that the choice of a route was almost impossible. Added to this difficulty was the rivalry among various cities—New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago—each of which desired to become the eastern terminus of the Pacific railroad.

In the face of these conditions, Congressmen from the West, finding their railroad projects defeated or sidetracked, turned their attention to a second-choice method of communication with the Pacific coast. During February, March, and April, 1856, four separate bills were introduced providing for an overland mail to San Francisco.⁸ Finally in August, near the close of the session, Senator Weller introduced an amendment to the annual Post Office Appropriation Bill providing for a semi-weekly mail service between the Missouri River and San Francisco. The mail was to be carried in four-horse coaches within a nineteen-day schedule, and the compensation was not to exceed \$500,000.00 per annum.⁹

The advocates of the amendment asserted that the railroad surveys had given assurance that the overland coach service was practicable; that the appropriation for wagon roads had created a sort of moral obligation to put coaches upon them; and that since eastern Congressmen had adequate means of communication with their constituents, the best possible facilities should be afforded to all.¹⁰ The opponents questioned the practicability of carrying the mail at the price stipulated and argued that by the amendment the legislative branch of government was intruding upon the prerogatives of the executive department. The amendment was adopted by the Senate but rejected in the House, and subsequently was lost in a conference committee.¹¹

⁷ Passed the Senate Feb. 19, 1855, by vote of 24 to 21.

⁸ Cong. Globe 34th Cong. 1 Sess. Feb. 14, 1856, Mr. Weller of California introduced an overland mail bill. Subsequent bills were presented Mar. 2nd, Mar. 25th, and April 17th, by Mr. Herbert, Mr. Phelps of Missouri, and Mr. Kennett, respectively.

⁹ Cong. Globe, 34 Cong. 1 Sess. p. 2201.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2202.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2225.

Having so nearly succeeded in August, 1856, the advocates of the overland mail were spurred to vigorous action in the short session beginning in December. Several bills were introduced and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads. Under the able chairmanship of Senator Rusk of Texas, the Senate committee gave full consideration to the proposals, consulted experienced western mail contractors, and earnestly endeavored to frame a bill that would be practicable and acceptable. Finally the bill was framed and again attached in the form of amendments to the annual Post Office Appropriation Bill.

Compared with the bill of the preceding session, this one offered higher remuneration and also extended the time for making the trip. The framers intended to permit a fairly liberal contract, as an inducement to responsible bidders; for the government had had considerable experience with contractors who had bid too little and then had come to Congress for an extra allowance.

Profiting from the experience with the Pacific Railroad bills which had been defeated through sectional conflicts, the framers of this measure left undetermined the route and the eastern terminus.

When the bill came up in the Senate on February 27th, it evoked considerable debate.¹² Opponents of the measure pointed to the already heavy expense for the ocean mail to California and strongly advised against a further increase. Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky argued for the principle that the Post Office Department should be as nearly self-supporting as possible. "Wait until your line can go a little further towards supporting itself. . . . It is out of season, out of time, inappropriate, extravagant, exaggerated in the highest degree. . . . Here is one route established by sea (to California) at a cost of nearly one million of dollars, and then there is a land communication to Salt Lake City from the western part of Missouri and from Salt Lake City to Sacramento. . . . You have then, perhaps, \$1,300,000 now of annual expense in carrying the mail to California. . . . The question is whether you will add to it \$600,000 or \$300,000 more."¹³

In reply to the economy argument, Senators spoke of the full treasury and prospects of ultimate repayment. Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, said: "It is almost impossible to tell when we shall ever succeed in obtaining an overland communication through our own territory with the Pacific Ocean. I imagine, however, that there never was a time in our history when this government was so well able to make an effort towards the accomplishment of that object as now. The discus-

¹² Cong. Globe 34th Cong. 3d Sess. Appendix.

¹³ Cong. Globe 34th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 313.

sions on the tariff bill yesterday demonstrated the fact that there are millions in the treasury not only for the purpose of making what is certainly a fair and reasonable experiment, but millions that we do not know what to do with.”¹⁴

Supporters of the measure denounced the ocean mail service and the Panama Railroad as gigantic monopolies that could be broken only by the establishment of this competitive route. “How can we ever supersede the steamships unless we have a mail across the continent?” asked Senator Gwin of California. “We are entirely at the mercy of a steamship company—a gigantic monopoly,”¹⁵ Senator Rusk said. “We have a simple proposition before us—it is whether you will continue a contract for a mail, twice a month, across the Isthmus of Panama at \$900,000 a year, or whether you will make an experiment to see whether you can get the mail service performed twice a week through your own territory for \$600,000 a year.”¹⁶ He was of course winking at the fact that this was to be a *letter* mail only and that the ocean service would still continue.

The supporters of the measure had objects in view other than merely the transportation of the mail to California. Senator Weller admitted: “I confess that I not only desire to have this mail route but what I regard as equally important, I desire to have a good emigrant route. I believe, by the establishment of a mail route with little posts every ten miles you will have in fact military posts all along that road. In this way you will give protection to your emigrants. That is what I am after. . . . This I regard as vastly important to the future interest of your possession on the Pacific. One cannot advise a family to go overland at the present time, because of hostile tribes of Indians in the way, and the unprotected condition of the road. But give us the mail route, let us establish little posts at every ten miles and then the emigration will be safe.”¹⁷

The argument was also advanced that rapid communication with the Pacific Coast would bind that region to the Union and prevent the possibility of the future establishment of a separate nation beyond the Sierras.¹⁸

When finally the vote was taken, the Senate registered 24 for, and

¹⁴ Cong. Globe, 34th Cong. 3d Sess. Appendix p. 310.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁷ Cong. Globe, 34th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 317.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Mr. Brodhead of Pennsylvania, p. 312; Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana p. 308.

10 against the amendments.¹⁹ The House failed to agree so a committee of conference was named.²⁰ The Conference Committee recommended the amendments providing for the overland mail line; Congress accepted their report, and, on March 3, 1857, the Post Office Appropriation Bill became a law. The amendments relating to the overland mail read:

"Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That the Postmaster General be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for the conveyance of the entire letter mail from such point on the Mississippi River, as the contractors may select, to San Francisco, in the State of California, for six years, at a cost not exceeding \$300,000 per annum for semi-monthly, \$450,000 for weekly, or \$600,000 for semi-weekly, at the option of the Postmaster General.

"Sec. 11. And be it further enacted, That the contract shall require the service to be performed with good four-horse coaches or spring wagons, suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails.

"Sec. 12. And be it further enacted, That the contractors shall have the right of preemption to three hundred and twenty acres of any land not then disposed of or reserved, at each point necessary for a station, not to be nearer than ten miles from each other; and provided that no mineral land shall be thus preempted.

"Sec. 13. And be it further enacted, That the said service shall be performed within twenty-five days for each trip; and that before entering into such contract, the Postmaster General shall be satisfied of the ability and disposition of the parties bona-fide and in good faith to perform the said contract, and shall require good and sufficient security for the performance of the same; the service to commence within twelve months after signing the contract."²¹

The Post Office Department on the 20th of April, 1857, advertised for bids to perform the overland mail service provided for in the above act. Bidders were to name the starting point on the Mississippi River and the intermediate points proposed to be embraced in the route. Separate proposals were invited for semi-monthly, weekly, and semi-weekly trips.²²

Nine bids were received. Three of these proposed routes from Memphis west through Arizona and New Mexico to Southern California and thence north to San Francisco. One bid by John Butterfield and others proposed this southern route with St. Louis as the point of beginning, and in another bid the same parties proposed a forked line from St. Louis and from Memphis, converging at some point east of Albuquerque. Two bids did not indicate the route, but proposed

¹⁹ Cong. Globe. 34th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 321. Those voting "Yea" were: Messrs. Benjamin, Bigler, Collamer, Douglas, Durkee, Fish, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Gwin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Nourse, Pratt, Rusk, Seward, Slidell, Stuart, Thomson of N. J., Weller, and Wilson—24.

Those voting "Nay" were: Messrs. Biggs, Clay, Crittenden, Hunter, Jones of Tenn., Mason, Reid, Thompson of Ky., Toombs, and Yulee.

²⁰ The Conference Committee consisted of Messrs. Gwin, Rusk, and Collamer of the Senate; and Davis, Mace, and Denver of the House.

²¹ United States Statutes, 1855-7, Chapter 96. Law approved March 3, 1857.

²² Postmaster General's Report of 1857. In Sen. Ex. Doc. 35th Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. III, p. 986. (Serial No. 921.)

beginning at St. Louis and at Gaines' Landing respectively. One proposal named the route via Salt Lake City. Another proposed this route in the main, with a detour north of Salt Lake City by way of Soda Springs, Idaho. Still another proposed a more northern route from St. Paul, by way of Fort Ridgely, South Pass, Humboldt River, and Noble's Pass to San Francisco.²³

After considerable deliberation the Postmaster General and his assistants selected a route "from St. Louis, Missouri, and from Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Little Rock, Arkansas; thence via Preston, Texas, or as nearly so as may be found advisable, to the best point of crossing the Rio Grande, above El Paso, and not far from Fort Fillmore; thence along the new road being opened and constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma, California; thence through the best passes and along the best valleys for safe and expeditious staging, to San Francisco."²⁴

No bid had been received for this particular route, but all bidders agreed that their respective bids might be held and considered as applying to it. The Postmaster General, "looking at the respective bidders, both as to the amount proposed and the ability, qualifications and experience of the bidders to carry out a great mail service like this"²⁵ ordered that the proposal of John Butterfield, William B. Dinsmore, William G. Fargo, James V. P. Gardner, Marcus L. Kinyon, Alexander Holland, and Hamilton Spencer for a semi-weekly mail at \$600,000 per year, be accepted. Accordingly, on the 16th of September, 1857, a six-year contract was entered into with Butterfield and his associates. The service was to begin September 15, 1858.

Much criticism naturally arose from the selection of the southern route. A more northern route was followed by most of the emigration, and many had expected that the route by way of Salt Lake City would be chosen. As an answer to this criticism the Postmaster General in his annual report of December, 1857, set forth the reasons which induced a preference for the route selected. He cited that the repeated failures of the mail to and from Salt Lake City to cross the mountains because of deep snow "put that route entirely out of the question."²⁶ Next he maintained that the Albuquerque route also was too cold to insure certainty and regularity for the service, and especially would not afford the desired safety and comfort for the passengers. The

²³ Postmaster General's Report, 1857. In Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 11, 35th Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. III, p. 987. (Serial No. 921.)

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 990.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 988.

²⁶ Postmaster General's Report, 1857, p. 994.

minimum and maximum temperatures recorded by the War Department at Albuquerque since 1849, together with the observations of explorers and travelers, he contended, proved that the climatic conditions on this route were unsatisfactory.²⁷

The superiority of the El Paso route, especially for winter travel, was then set forth. "The Department supposed Congress to be in search of a route that could be found safe, comfortable, and certain during every season of the year, as well for the transportation of the mails as for the accommodation of emigrants and the future location of a railroad to the Pacific."²⁸ In substantiation of the desirability of the southern course he cited that Captain Marcy, who had explored both routes, and Commissioners Emory and Bartlett, Lieutenant Parke, and A. H. Campbell, at the head of the Pacific Wagon Road Office, Interior Department, who had gone over the two routes in 1853, '54, and '55—all expressed a decided preference for the one via El Paso.²⁹ Further, the fact was cited that Congress had appropriated \$200,000 to be expended in the construction of a wagon road between the Rio Grande and Fort Yuma. Then the Postmaster General continued:

"As the pioneer route for the first great railroad that may be constructed to the Pacific, the Postmaster General has bestowed upon it all the labor and examination possible. He contends that since the railroads have not concentrated at one point on the Mississippi, this pioneer mail line should point the way by choosing some point west of that river at which the future railroads might concentrate and from which point the line to the Pacific could be projected. . . . Thus it is that we have found *west* of the Mississippi what we could not obtain *on* it—a common concentration of railroads to a single point from which the future railroad may commence, swollen and enlarged in its common stem by the contributions of the railways coming in from nearly every State of the Union."³⁰ He also added that this route might serve a valuable purpose in our dealings with Mexico; it would help both nations commercially in time of peace, and furnish a highway for United States troops in case of war.

But the arguments so ably presented were not sufficiently convincing for the proponents of a more northern route. They saw in the southern choice a sectional favoritism on the part of the Postmaster General from Tennessee. It was, perhaps, as a concession to the disappointed and dissatisfied section that improved facilities were afforded to northern lines in the ensuing year.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 995.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 997.

²⁹ Postmaster General's Report, pp. 998-1001.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1004.

Let us now note briefly the character of the route chosen. It was, roughly speaking, in the form of a semi-circle from St. Louis to San Francisco, the most southern point reached being about six hundred miles below South Pass. The total distance was nearly twenty-eight hundred miles.³¹ The route from St. Louis was by railroad for one hundred and sixty miles directly west to Tipton. From this point the stage followed an almost direct southern course, going by way of Springfield, over the Ozark mountains to Fayetteville, and thence to Fort Smith, Arkansas, where the mail from Memphis was met. The route proceeded through the Choctaw country to the crossing of the Red River at Colbert's Ferry. From here it continued southwest across the almost uninhabited region of northern Texas via Fort Belknap to Fort Chadbourne. Upon leaving the Choncho the route led across a barren plain, along the Pecos River, through Guadalupe Pass, and across the rolling table-lands to El Paso. From the Rio Grande to Tucson, three hundred and sixty miles of rough, broken country without water except at the stations,³² the course led on to the Pima Indian villages on the Gila River. It then crossed from the Maricopas Wells through a forty-mile desert, striking the Gila again, which it now followed to Fort Yuma. From Fort Yuma to Carrizo Creek, about one hundred miles, the route was heavy with sand and there was no water in the dry season.³³ Here the route left the old San Diego trail, and turned to the north, crossed the mountains at Warner's Pass and continued northwest to Los Angeles.³⁴ From Los Angeles the road went north over the San Bernardino Range through San Francisquito Canyon, across the Sierra through Cañada de las Uvas, north through the central valley of California to Firebaugh, west through Pacheco Pass to Gilroy and thence north to San Francisco.³⁵

It was a route that offered many obstacles to staging. To afford

³¹ G. Bailey, special agent of the Post Office Department who accompanied the first mail east gives the total distance as 2795 miles, but says that this distance will presently be somewhat shortened. 35th Cong. 2d Sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1 (Ser. No. 977), p. 743.

³² Postmaster General's Report, 1858, p. 742. Description of the route is also given by Mr. W. L. Ormsby of the New York Herald in a speech upon his arrival in San Francisco. He was the only passenger on the first stage going west. Report of his speech is given in the San Francisco Bulletin and the Alta California, Oct. 12, 1858.

³³ San Francisco Bulletin, Dec. 6, 1858.

In the S. F. Bulletin of April 13, 1859, we read: "The Overland Mail Co. have succeeded in sinking several wells on the Colorado desert, in each case finding water at a depth of fifty feet."

³⁴ Postmaster General's Report, 1858, p. 740.

³⁵ A good description of the route is given by a special correspondent of the San Francisco Bulletin who started east Oct. 22, 1858, and wrote letters back to his paper from various points. These are found in the issues of Nov. 5th, 19th, and 27th.

water, wells had to be sunk and reservoirs made. Over the longest dry stretches relays of teams had to be provided. However, the contractors went about their task with energy, and when the year was up, equipment was ready, stations were built or in process of building, and the preparation was such as would insure the successful execution of the great undertaking.

On September 15, 1858, the first mail coaches left St. Louis and San Francisco simultaneously for their long overland journeys. The arrivals of the mail, ahead of schedule time, were occasions of great public rejoicings. In St. Louis the first mail was escorted through the street to the post office by a long procession led by brass bands. In San Francisco salutes were fired, an immense meeting held and enthusiastic speeches made.³⁶ A San Francisco paper thus describes the reception of the Overland Mail:

"At a quarter after four o'clock the coach turned from Market into Montgomery street. The driver blew his horn and cracked his whip; at which the horses, four in number, almost seemed to partake of his enthusiasm, and dashed ahead at a clattering pace, and the dust flew from the glowing wheels. At the same time a shout was raised, that ran with the rapidity of an electric flash along Montgomery street, which throughout its length was crowded by an excited populace. As the coach dashed along through the crowds, the hats of the spectators were whirled in the air and the hurrah was repeated from a thousand throats, responsive to which the driver, the lion of the occasion, doffed his weather-beaten old slouch, and in uncovered dignity, like the victor of an Olympic race, guided his foaming steeds towards the Post Office."³⁷

Upon the arrival of the pioneer stage, Mr. Butterfield, elated at the success of the great enterprise, telegraphed the President of the United States: "The overland mail arrived today at St. Louis from San Francisco in twenty-three days and four hours. The stage brought through six passengers." President Buchanan replied:

"I cordially congratulate you upon the result. It is a glorious triumph for civilization and the Union. Settlements will soon follow the course of the road, and the East and West will be bound together by a chain of living Americans which can never be broken."³⁸

The schedule time for the route was twenty-five days. The first mail from the East came through in twenty-three days, twenty-three

³⁶ San Francisco Bulletin Oct. 11, 1858.

³⁷ S. F. Bulletin Oct. 16, 1858. This was upon the occasion of the arrival of the second stage.

³⁸ Quoted in Root and Connelley: "The Overland Stage to California," p. 13. Butterfield's telegram is dated Jefferson City, Oct. 9th.

hours. Mr. W. L. Ormsby of the New York Herald was the only through passenger. The first trip from the West was made in twenty-four days, eighteen hours, and twenty-six minutes. Mr. G. Bailey, special agent of the Post Office Department was one of the passengers. He reported in part:

"The various difficulties of the route, the scant supply of water, the long deserts, the inconvenience of keeping up stations hundreds of miles from the points from which their supplies are furnished; all these and the minor obstacles, naturally presented to the successful management of so long a line of stage communication, have been met and overcome by the energy, the enterprise, and the determination of the contractors."³⁹

The following summary of distances and of time made on the first trip eastward, is taken from Mr. Bailey's report:

	Miles	Hours
San Francisco to Los Angeles.....	462	80.00
Los Angeles to Fort Yuma.....	282	72.20
Fort Yuma to Tucson.....	280	71.45
Tucson to Franklin.....	360	82.00
Franklin to Fort Chadbourne.....	458	126.30
Fort Chadbourne to Colbert's Ferry.....	282½	65.25
Colbert's Ferry to Fort Smith.....	192	38.00
Fort Smith to Tipton.....	318	48.55
Tipton to St. Louis (by railroad).....	160	11.40
Total.....	2795	596.35
Total.....	2795	596.35 ⁴⁰

The line was equipped at first with the famous Concord spring wagons, capable of carrying conveniently four passengers and their baggage and five or six hundred pounds of mail matter.⁴¹ Later more commodious coaches were used, which carried six or nine inside and one to ten outside passengers.⁴² The team usually consisted of four horses or mules, but upon the more difficult stretches additional animals were attached.⁴³ Most of the horses were mustangs, "wild as deer, and as active as antelope." . . . They were all shod and branded O. M. (Overland Mail.) Stations were maintained at intervals of from eight to twenty-five miles. At first there were some drives of forty or fifty miles without change of teams⁴⁵ but these were reduced

³⁹ Given in Postmaster General's Report of Dec., 1858, p. 741.

⁴⁰ Postmaster General's Report, 1858, 35th Cong. 2d Sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1 (Serial No. 977), p. 743.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 741.

⁴² S. F. Bulletin March 19, 1860; Dec. 3, 1858.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1858; Mar. 19, 1860.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1858.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1858.

until the average drive was between ten and fifteen miles.⁴⁶ Through the New Mexico and Arizona region the stations were large square enclosures with walls of adobe. During periods of Indian hostility guards of four or five men defended these posts. Supplies of hay, grain, and sometimes even water, often had to be hauled long distances.⁴⁷ In Los Angeles a splendid brick depot was maintained, consisting of an office, blacksmith shop, stables, and sheds.⁴⁸

The through passenger traffic was not heavy but there were usually passengers on every coach. Frequently, however, way passengers were crowded in, to the inconvenience of the through travellers.⁴⁹ The continuous riding day and night for twenty-five days was very tiring and it was a common custom for passengers to remain over at some intermediate station to rest. However it was said that the journey very often improved the health of the passenger.⁵⁰ At first the through fare was one hundred dollars from San Francisco eastward, and two hundred dollars from St. Louis or Memphis to the Golden Gate.⁵¹ In January, 1859, the fare eastward was raised to two hundred dollars,⁵² but was reduced to one hundred fifty dollars in May.⁵³ This fare did not include meals, which cost from seventy-five cents to one dollar each, varying, of course, according to the distance from settled regions. It did, however, allow each passenger to carry forty pounds of baggage without extra cost. In reply to numerous inquiries, a San Diego newspaper recommended the following equipment for the overland passenger:

"One Sharp's rifle and a hundred cartridges; a Colt's navy revolver and two pounds of balls; a knife and sheath; a pair of thick boots and woolen pants; a half dozen pairs of thick woolen socks; six undershirts; three woolen overshirts; a wide-awake hat; a cheap sack coat; a soldier's overcoat; one pair of blankets in summer and two in winter; a piece of India rubber cloth for blankets; a pair of gauntlets, a small bag of needles, pins, a sponge, hair brush, comb, soap, etc., in an oiled silk bag; two pairs of thick drawers, and three or four towels."⁵⁴

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1860.

⁴⁷ S. F. Bulletin, Dec. 14, 1859.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1860.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1858.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1859. St. Louis Correspondence of Dec. 13, 1858.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1858, and subsequent dates. Also advertisement of Dec. 1, 1858, reproduced in Dunbar, "A History of Travel in America," Vol. 4, p. 1315.

⁵² S. F. Bulletin, Jan. 10, 1859.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1859.

⁵⁴ Hayes Collection, Bancroft Library. Transcontinental Mails R. 104: 61. The article has reference to the San Antonio and San Diego Mail, but the route for a considerable distance was the same as that taken by the Butterfield.

The Overland Mail line gradually gained in favor until by 1860 more letters were sent by the Butterfield route than by the ocean steamers.⁵⁵ Even in England sealed letter-bags were made up regularly for San Francisco and the English Pacific Coast possessions to go overland in the times intervening between the dates of departure of the Panama line of steamers.⁵⁶

Despite occasional depredations by the Comanche and Apache Indians,⁵⁷ the schedule was very successfully maintained and the trips came to be made regularly in from twenty-one to twenty-three days.⁵⁸ An overland passenger wrote in the *New York Post*:

"The blast of the stage horn as it rolls through the valleys and over the prairies of the West, cheers and gladdens the heart of the pioneer. As it sounds through the valleys of Santa Clara and San Jose, it sends a thrill of delight to the Californian. He knows that it brings tidings from the hearts and homes he left behind him; it binds him stronger and firmer to his beloved country. So regular is its arrival that the inhabitants know almost the hour and the minute when the welcome sound of the post horn will reach them. . . . The Overland is the most popular institution of the Far West."⁵⁹

There never was serious criticism of the conduct of the service upon this line, but the route taken was ever the subject of criticism. Efforts were made time and again to get the contract cancelled or the line moved farther north. It was not until the outbreak of the Civil War, however, that this line was removed from the route over which it had operated so regularly and well.

L. R. HAFEN.

⁵⁵ S. F. Bulletin, April 27, 1860.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1859. St. Louis Correspondence of June 6th.

⁵⁷ Articles relative to Indian depredations and the need of Government protection are found in the S. F. Bulletin of Oct. 19th, Nov. 27th, Dec. 20, 1858; Jan. 12th, Feb. 9th, July 23, 1860.

⁵⁸ The first four mails west came through in 23¾, 26, 25, and 26½ days respectively. S. F. Bulletin, Nov. 19, 1858. The average time made during the six months from Oct., 1859, to April, 1860, was 21 days and 15 hours. This information is from a speech of Senator Latham in the Senate May 30, 1860, obtained from figures compiled by the Postmaster of San Francisco.

⁵⁹ Quoted in the S. F. Bulletin of June 13, 1859.

A DAVID DOUGLAS LETTER

David Douglas was a well-known botanist who came to the Pacific Coast to collect specimens. On his first journey he reached the mouth of the Columbia, April 7, 1825. After visiting various places in the upper country he went overland with Dr. McLaughlin and returned to England by way of York Factory in the fall of 1828. In the latter part of 1829 he again returned to the Columbia, and in December of 1830 made a journey to Monterey, where he remained until August, 1832. Returning to the Columbia he spent a year there and left for the Sandwich Islands in October, touching at San Francisco en route. While in the Islands he was killed by a wild bull in July, 1834, in a cattle pit into which he had fallen.

One of his letters from California was printed in the "Companion to the Botanical Magazine," published in London in 1836. That which we print is from a copy in the Douglas correspondence in the Provincial Library at Victoria, B. C., kindly furnished us by the librarian, Mr. John Forsyth. Although without address, it was most probably written to the celebrated botanist, Sir William Hooker. Douglas wrote another letter from Monterey, to which he refers in his published letter, which he says was descriptive of the country. All efforts to locate that letter up to the present have proved unavailing. Nevertheless the letter we publish contains a very good description of California as he saw it, even to the twenty-seven pound trout.

Some extracts from this letter were published in the *Overland Monthly*, Volume II, 1883, page 409.



Monterey,
Upper California,
Nov. 20, 1831.

Esteemed and ever dear Sir,

In the absence of all with kindred feelings to participate of our pleasures, to console us in adversity, how delightful is the task to write to them, the more especially when for a long time we have been deprived of their conversation and separated from them by half the diameter of the Globe. Still greater is the pleasure to the solitary traveller to learn the welfare and happiness of those who are dear to his remembrance in his native land. I am not ashamed to say such affords me great pleasure, stimulates me to exertion and makes my labour light. Though I have not written to you since last year, I am daily with you in recollection and were it not that sometimes I nearly

persuade myself that my feeble exertions in these countries may ere long yield pleasure looking over its beautiful plants I should be truly glad to assure you in person of my regard. I have had only one letter from you dated "Christmas day, 1829," for which I am abundantly thankful. This is the only one which gave me any news. I have none from Mr. Sabine.

Some of my London fashionable friends (he none of them thank God) were glad to get rid of me. I shall not at present torment these gentlemen with my scribbling and should I ever return I shall make but little exertion to renew my acquaintance with them, however much I may lose by it. I beg you to lay before Mrs. H., Mr. H. the Boys and Girls, and when you write to Yarmouth to say to Mr. Turner that I claim to be remembered to him.

On the 22nd. December last I arrived by sea from the Columbia, and obtained leave of the Territorial Government to remain for the space of six months, which has been nearly extended to twelve, for it took the first three months to negotiate this affair, which was effected to my satisfaction. I shall now endeavor to give you a brief sketch of my walks in California, of my progress. Upper California extends from the Port of St. Diego, lat. $32^{\circ}30'$ to the 43°N. , a space of six hundred and ninety miles from north to south. The Interior is but partially known. Such of the country as I have seen is highly diversified by hills covered with Oaks, Pines, Chestnuts and Laurels; extensive plains clothed with a rich sward of grass, but no large streams. Well does it merit its name. The heat is intense, and the dryness of its atmosphere incredible, 129° not infrequent, which, if I mistake not, is not exceeded in Arabia or Persia. In this fine country how I lament the want of such majestic rivers as the Columbia. In the course of my travels on the western and northern parts of this Continent, on my former as well as my present journey, I have observed that all mountainous countries situated in a temperate climate agitated by volcanic fire and washed by mighty torrents which form gaps or breaks in the mountains, lay open an inexhaustible field for Botanist. Early as was my arrival on this Coast Spring had commenced. The first plant I took in my hand in full flower was *Ribes Staminum*, (Smith) remarkable for the length and crimson splendour of its stamens, a plant not surpassed in beauty by the finest Fuchsia, for the discovery of which we are indebted to the good Sir Arch. Menzies in 1779. The same day I added to my list *Nemophila insignis*, a humble but beautiful plant, the harbinger of Californian Spring, which forms as it were a carpet of azure. What a delightful rest to the eye does this charming plant afford from the effects of the sun's reflection on the micaceous

sand in which it grows. These with others of less importance gave me hope. From time to time I continued to make journeys in this neighborhood until the end of April, when I undertook a journey southwards and reached Santa Barbara, $34^{\circ}25'$ in the middle of May, where I made a short stay and returned late in June by the same route, occasionally penetrating the mountainous valleys which skirt the Coast. Shortly afterwards I made a journey to San Francisco and north of that Port. My principal object was to reach the place from whence I returned in 1826, (See Map of Flora), which I regret to state could not be accomplished. My last observation was $38^{\circ}45'$ N. which leaves a blank of sixty-five miles. Small as this may appear to you, it was too much for me!! My whole Collection of this year in California may amount to five hundred species a little more or less. This is prodigiously small I am aware, but when I inform you that the season for Botanizing is not more than three months your surprise will cease. Such is the rapidity of Spring that plants (like on the table-lands of Mexico and the platforms of the Andes in Chile) bloom only for a day. The intense heats set in about June when every bit of herbage is dried to a cinder. The facility of travelling is not great, wherein much time is lost, as is the case as a matter of course in all new countries. It would require at least three years to do any thing like good in California and the expense to me is not the least of the drawbacks. At present I can do nothing more and will content myself with particularising the present Collection. Of new genera I am certain of nineteen or twenty at least, and I hope you will find many more. Most are very curious. Of species, there may be about three hundred and forty new. I have added a truly interesting species to the genus *Pinus*, *P. Sabinii*, one which I discovered in 1826, and lost, together with the rough note crossing a rapid stream returning northward accompanied with the numerous species of this genus which inhabit the western parts of this Continent; it attains but to a small size—one hundred and ten to one hundred and forty feet high, three to twelve feet in diameter. In the aqueous deposits on the Western flanks of the Cordilleras of New Albion at a very great elevation above the sea ($1,600$ below the line of perpetual snow), they grow somewhat larger than on the more temperate parts near the Coast in a more southern parallel. I sent to London a description of the beautiful tree for the Trans. of the Linn. or Hort. Society, which you will see before this can reach you: so I will not trouble you with a description of it. But the great beauty of California is a species of *Taxodium*, which gives to the mountain a peculiar—I was going to say an awful—appearance, something that tells us we are not in Europe. I have never seen T.

nootkatensis of Nees, saving specimens in the Lambertian Collection, and I have no work to refer to; but from recollection I think the present specifically distinct. I have measured them frequently two hundred and seventy feet long, thirty-two feet round, three feet from the ground!! Some few I saw upwards of three hundred feet long, but none of a greater thickness than those instanced. I have fine specimens of these and seeds also. I have doubled the genus *Calochortus*; *C. luteus* is deserving of attention as the finest of all. To *Mimulus* several; *M. cardinalis*, three to four feet high, surpassing *M. luteus*, a magnificent plant. *Clarkia elegans* four to six feet high, petals *entire*, fine. But not equal to *C. pulchella*. It is to *Gilia*, *Colomia*, *Phlox* and *Hoitzia* the greatest additions have been made, too numerous to mention. To *Onagrarieoe* something is also done. In addition to the new genus alluded to by De Candolle, (Prod. 111, p. 35) exhibiting the flower of *Fuchsia* with the fruit of an *Epilobium*, I have another new genus and a multitude of species of *OEnothera*. To *Penstemon* there are four new, two of which far excel any of the genus: two shrubs. In *Papaveraceoe*, two, if not three, new genera, one a shrub with the bi-foliate calyx and four petals, flowers and stamens of *Papaver* with the fruit of *Escholtzia* and having entire leaves!! This is my *Bichenovia*, a plant worthy of him and he of it. The others are both annuals and too curious for me to describe. By far the most singular and highly curious plant is a genus in some respects akin to *Salvia* with the leaves of *Cardius*. This is one annual species, *Wellsia*, (Mr. Wells, Redleaf, Kent). This with many others I hope you will have the pleasure of describing from the living plants, as I have sent to London upwards of one hundred and fifty nondescript species which I hope may bloom next season. I have divided my collection for the Society in two parts, and have done myself the pleasure of laying aside as they were dry, your portion. They consist of two large thick bundles, addressed to you and sealed with that (by which I lay great store) which you gave me on my departure. With very few exceptions these bundles contain a good portion of my specimens. It is so pleasant to me to set apart something for your herbarium that I would not deny myself the gratification of doing so as they were gathered; besides, my dear Sir, were this duty left to a London house, they might do it I doubt not by accident, well, while I do it heartily. May you reap equal pleasure looking over them that I had gleaned them, and it will be to pleasure beyond what I can express to know you had found something that interests you. I shall, please God, have an opportunity of writing shortly, and for the present will only tell you of my

projects. I am daily in expectation of a vessel from the Columbia, in which I am to embark to renew my labours in the North, and should she not arrive before the 10th. of December, I take a passage in an American vessel for the Sandwich Islands, where I will fail not to endeavour to scale the lofty *Mouna Roa* or *Raah* (The White of Snow) in quest of Flora's treasures, and proceed to the North West Coast the ensuing Spring. I have met the Russian authorities twice since I wrote to you and have had the utmost kindness from them. I had two days since a letter from Baron Wrangel, Governor of the Russian possessions in America and the Aleutian Islands; full of compliments, offering all assistance, backed by Imperial favour from the Court. This gentleman, as you know, is the Capt. Parry of Russia, a man of science and keenly alive to assist everyone who endeavours to labour in the field. Since I began, Dr. Coulter, from the Central States of the Republic of Mexico, has arrived here with the intention of taking all to Geneva to De Candolle. He is a man eminently calculated to work, full of zeal, amiable, and I hope may do much for the great good. As a salmon fisher he is superior to W. F. Campbell, Esq., of Islay, who is the Isaak Walton of Scotland, besides being a beautiful shot with the rifle (nearly as good as me!!) And I do assure you from my heart it is a terrible pleasure to me to find a good man who can speak of Plants. I should be sorry to load you with compliments, but let me crave to be remembered to Mr. Murray, to whom I have written shortly, and as it would be only repeating by writing, either show him this sheet or tell him what I am doing. To my (on a former journey) companion and friend Dr. Scouler I request to be mentioned too in the shape of Bones and Fragments of different kinds of animals and will send him a prodigiously long letter and catalogue two months hence. I can never read what I write, so do pardon my blunders and if you can fathom what I wish to say I am for once happy. Tell Joseph I caught two fine trout yesterday, twenty-seven pounds each.

I am always

Your obliged and grateful servt.

D. DOUGLAS.

EARLIEST CROSSING OF THE DESERTS OF UTAH AND NEVADA TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: ROUTE OF JEDEDIAH S. SMITH IN 1826

In the early fall of 1826 the venturesome explorer and fur-trader, Jedediah S. Smith, led a small party on horseback from Great Salt Lake, Utah, to San Diego, California. He appears to have been the first white man to cross the vast expanse of unknown deserts between the Rocky Mountain region and southern California, as he was also the first to cross the Sierra Nevada, which he did in May of the following year.¹

There is some doubt as to certain details of the route, but in his letter to General William Clark, of Lewis and Clark fame, written July 12, 1827,² he states: "My general course on leaving the Salt Lake was South-W. & West"—and adds that after passing Little Utah Lake he ascended "Ashley's river" [now known as the Sevier] which he erroneously supposed to empty into Utah Lake. On this river he found "a Nation of Indians who call themselves Sampatch," who he says "were friendly disposed towards us." These were a Utah tribe inhabiting Sevier and San Pete valleys and now commonly called Sanpet Indians.

After ascending the Sevier (how far he does not state), he continues: "I passed over a range of Mountains running S. E. and N. W. and struck a river running S. W. which I called *Adams River*, in compliment to our President. The water is of a muddy cast, & is a little

¹ See my article entitled "*First Crossing of the Sierra Nevada*." *Sierra Club Bull.*, vol. xi, No. 4, pp. 375-379, June, 1923.

² Smith's letter to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, from which the quotations in the present article are taken, is preserved in the archives of the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington. It is written in a remarkably clear hand and is dated "Little Lake of Bear River, July 12th, 1827."

Dale in his book entitled "*The Ashley-Smith Explorations*" (pp. 186-194, 1918) published what is believed to be a copy of the same letter, as contained in the letter book of General William Clark, still preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. As printed by Dale the letter is dated July 17, 1827, but I am informed by Miss Clara Francis, Librarian of the Kansas Historical Society, that this is an error. Miss Francis writes: "I note that you mention the discrepancies in date. I suppose that has come through transcribing or poor proof reading, for this letter, under my hand at this moment, is dated July 12th, and the 2 is utterly unlike the 7 in the year 1827. So there could be no possibility of its being July 17." Miss Francis adds the important information that the letter "in the letter book of General William Clark is **not** an original letter from Jedediah Smith," and goes on to say: "We have some original letters and the writing is utterly unlike."

In this connection I wish to record my obligation to Miss Francis and also to Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, both of whom have contributed valuable information bearing on this subject.

brackish—the country is mountainous to East—toward the West there are Sandy plains and detached Rocky Hills. Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a Nation of Indians who call themselves Pa Ulches.³ these Indians, as well as those last mentioned, wear rabbit skin robes—who raise some little corn & Pumpkins.”

Recent commentators, Chittenden in his *American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Vol. I, p. 283, 1902), Wagner in *Adventures of Zenas Leonard* (footnote p. 153, 1904), Richman, “Map of 22 Spanish and American Trails and Routes” in his book entitled “*California under Spain and Mexico*” (1911), and Dale in *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* (p. 188 footnote, 1918), have identified *Adams River* as the Virgin, but I believe this to be an error and am certain that the stream in question is the one now known as Meadow Valley Wash and its continuation the Muddy. Following are my reasons:

Smith well knew that in order to reach Southern California from Salt Lake his general course must be to the southwest.

In ascending the upper Sevier he had already gone a long distance south and knew that the time had arrived for turning to the west. Furthermore the forbidding aspect of the escarpments and mountains on the east and south would naturally have led him to seek a passage to the westward. That he did this is proved by his own words, for he tells us that his general course was southwest and west, and adds: “I passed over a range of Mountains running S.E. & N.W. and struck a river running S.W. which I called *Adams River*, in compliment to our President.” That this could not have been the Virgin is evident from the circumstance that the Virgin does not lie in that direction, its headwaters being immediately south of and close to those of the Sevier—both rising in canyons of the Markagunt Plateau, near its eastern front. What stream then could he have reached?

After crossing the mountains west of the upper Sevier, probably the Beaver Range, his course to the southwest and west lay over the open Escalante Desert. No stranger traversing this desert would attempt to force a passage through the mountains to the south, and moreover no waters from the desert flow southward, all the northern tributaries of the Virgin in this region being short streams flowing south from the *southern* slope of the divide. Hence the only river he could possibly have reached is Meadow Valley Wash—for there is no

³ Smith's writing of the word *Pa Ulches* is of course intended for *Pa Utches*, though the *t* is not crossed. However, it is written with a single upright stroke, as are all his *t*'s, while throughout the manuscript his *l*'s are looped. In Smith's letter to Clark as published in French in *Les Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (2 ser. vol. 7, pp. 208-212, 1833) the correct form, *Pa Utches*, is given.

other. Once on the Escalante Desert the lay of the land leads naturally to the southwest and west as far as the low cedar hills of the Utah-Nevada boundary, beyond which lies the long north and south valley known as Meadow Valley Wash—which he probably reached in the neighborhood of Panaca or Pioche. Thirty-two years ago I followed this same course myself on horseback, and it has since been adopted by the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad—it being the natural passage to the southwest.

Sometime after crossing the mountains west of the Sevier, Smith described the country as “mountainous to the East; towards the West there are sandy plains and detached rocky hills.” This is correct for the Escalante Desert and Meadow Valley Wash, but grossly incorrect for any part of the Virgin.

In order to have reached the upper waters of the then unknown Virgin River, Smith would have been obliged to depart from the direction he wished to take and continue south up the Sevier to its very head, thus entering the region of the formidable cliffs and canyons of the Markagunt Plateau, instead of crossing, as he said he did, “a range of mountains running S.E. and N.W.”—the mountains that separate the upper course of the Sevier from the valleys on the west that lead to the Escalante Desert. Furthermore, the part of the Virgin which he could have reached and followed on horseback is so short that he could not possibly have marched down it for 12 days—or even half that number—unless entangled in its marvelous canyons which, had he seen, he most certainly would have mentioned. And finally, the main course of the Virgin to its junction with the Muddy being *westerly* and *southwesterly*, he could not have described it as *turning to the southeast* two days’ march from its junction with the Colorado.

Remember his statement that about 10 days’ march down the stream “the river turns to the southeast.” This just fits the Muddy, but is entirely wrong for the Virgin, as admitted by Dale, who, misidentifying the stream as the Virgin, criticized Smith’s directions as “confused and inadequate.” Smith continued following the river “two days further to where it empties into the Seedekeeden,” by which name, ordinarily written Seedskedee, the Colorado River and its upper continuation the Green were then known.

Referring again to the stream he named Adams River he says: “Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a Nation who call themselves *Pa-Ulches*”; and adds, “here (about ten days march down it) the river turns to the South East.” This is very important information as it locates his position with remarkable exactness, for

we know that the "*Pa-Ulches*" or "*Pa-Utches*"—written *Payuchas* and *Payuchis* by the early Spanish explorers, Escalante, Garces, Font, and Cortez—dwelt and still dwell on the lower part of Meadow Valley Wash and the adjacent part of the Muddy, and we know also that this is where the stream turns to the southeast.⁴

That just at this point Smith chose the gravel mesa several miles west of the stream bed instead of the less desirable course closer in, is obvious to anyone following the route on horseback, and is absolutely proved by the following interesting circumstance:

In his letter to General Clark, Smith makes particular mention of a remarkable Salt Cave. After having followed for some time the stream he named Adams River and which I identify as Meadow Valley Wash, and after passing the *Pa Ulche* [Pah Ute] Indians, he states, "Here (about 10 days march down it) the river turns to the South East." This would have brought him to the neighborhood of the junction of the Muddy and Virgin. He then goes on to say, "On the S.W. side of the river there is a *Cave* the entrance of which is about 10 or 15 feet high & 5 or 6 feet in width—after descending about 15 feet, the room opens out from 25 to 30 feet in length & 15 to 20 feet in width. The roof, sides, & floor are solid Rocksalt." I was told of this Salt Cave when I visited the region on horseback 32 years ago. It is well known locally and is situated about 5 miles southwest of the little place called St. Thomas in Clark County, southeastern Nevada. In other words, it is on the gravel mesa a few miles west and a little south of the junction of the Muddy and Virgin, thus explaining why the union of the two streams was not observed by Smith.

It is singular how proofs multiply, and also how easily they are overlooked. Among the precious archives of the Missouri Historical Society is the journal of Harrison G. Rogers, a member of Smith's Expedition. It was rescued by Smith from the Indians who had killed Rogers in 1828, and was published by Dale in his account of the Ashley-Smith explorations. As would be expected, it contains entries of more than passing importance, fixing dates and localities. Thus under date of October 1 and 2 Rogers locates the party on "Muddy River," and on October 5 and 24 and November 5, on the "Siskadee"—the name then used by hunters and trappers for the Colorado. This not only confirms Smith's route but also indicates that notwithstanding his bestowal of the name Adams River on Meadow Valley Wash and

⁴ Nearly half a century after Smith's passage, Major Powell visited the same Indians, and in writing of them in connection with the present loose use of the term *Pahute*, states: "but the Indians know only those on the Muddy by that name." (Rept. Commr. Ind. Affairs for 1873, p. 45, 1874.)

the Muddy, others of the party actually called it *Muddy River*. So far as I am aware this is the first mention of the name.

The most important evidence after Smith's own account is to be found in the maps of General Gallatin (1836) and Commander Wilkes (1841), in both of which the geographic results of Smith's explorations were incorporated.⁵ Both show Adams River in approximately the right position for the Muddy (so far as permitted by the distorted course of the Colorado) while the stream now called the Virgin is neither named nor shown, except the few miles below the junction of the Muddy, which, being apparently a direct continuation of the Muddy, Smith naturally mistook for it—he having never seen any part of the Virgin above the junction, as already explained. On both maps Adams River is shown as a long stream and its course is correctly given as southwest by south for a long distance and then southeast to the Colorado River—thus agreeing with Smith's account and also with the combined courses of Meadow Valley Wash, the Muddy, and the lower part of the Virgin, below the junction. It is surprising that in a hurried horseback journey over mountains and deserts the course of a previously unknown stream should be described with such accuracy.

Frémont, in the large scale map showing his return route from Southern California to Utah in the spring of 1843, gives the course and name of the Virgin and its important branch the Santa Clara, with approximate correctness, and shows also the course of the Muddy, which though not named on the map, was called *Rio de los Angeles* in the text. Had the information recorded by Gallatin, Wilkes, and Frémont been perpetuated, many of the errors of subsequent cartographers would have been avoided.

Among the maps showing varying degrees of confusion in the positions and names of the Virgin, Meadow Valley Wash and the Muddy may be mentioned: *Mitchell's* New Map of Texas, Oregon and California, 1846; *Colton's* Map of New Mexico and Utah, 1855; *Lieut. Whipple's* Government Map, 1854; *Lieut. Warren's* Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, 1857; *Major Emory's* Map of the United States and Territories between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, 1857-1858; *Ives'* graphic relief map (drawn by Egloffstein) entitled "Map No. 2, Rio Colorado

⁵ The maps referred to are, Gallatin's *Map of Indian Tribes*, 1836; and Wilkes' *Map of Upper California*, 1841. But on the 1848 edition of Gallatin's map, the name Rio Virgin is substituted for Adams River, the river is greatly extended to the north, and given a course which is a compromise between that of the Sevier and Meadow Valley Wash with its continuation—the Muddy and Lower Virgin. This may be the source of the misidentification of Adams River by later authors.

of the West," 1858; the *Abbé Domenech's* Map of the United States, 1860; *Lloyd's* Map of the Territories and Pacific States, 1865; the Government *Land Office* maps of "Utah and Nevada, 1866"; *Keeler's* large "National Map of the Territories of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Ocean, 1867"; and *Bancroft's* Map of California and Nevada, 1868.

The Wheeler Survey map sheets published in 1874 (Nos. 50, 58, 59, 66, and 67) show with much detail the region between Great Salt Lake and the Great Bend of the Colorado, including Escalante Desert and the courses of Sevier River, Meadow Valley Wash, the Muddy, Santa Clara, and Virgin, thus covering the whole of the country traversed by Jedediah Smith from Utah Lake to the Colorado. They are very graphic, exhibiting in bold relief the mountains, canyons, and plateau escarpments of the region, and while not always accurate in minor details should be consulted by everyone interested in tracing the steps of the first white man who had the courage to explore this unknown route to California.

In conclusion, it may be said with confidence that "Ashley's river" of Smith is the upper part of the Sevier—the part flowing *northerly* toward Utah Lake, as correctly identified by Chittenden, Richman, and Dale; that "Adams River" of Smith is *Meadow Valley Wash* of eastern Nevada and its continuation the Muddy—not the Virgin, as heretofore misidentified (except the last few miles of its lower course, as previously explained); and that *Smith's route after crossing the mountains west of the Sevier lay across the Escalante Desert and thence down Meadow Valley Wash and the Muddy to the lower Virgin*, and down it to the Colorado River, which he crossed to the south side and followed westerly and southerly around the Great Bend, continuing south to the Mohave villages, where he recrossed to the west side before setting out over the Mohave Desert bound for the coast region of Southern California.

JEDEDIAH SMITH'S LETTER TO GENERAL CLARK

[Verbatim copy from original in Office of Indian Affairs, Washington.]

Little Lake of Bear River.

July 12th. 1827.

Gen^l. Wm. Clark
Sup^t. Indian Affairs
Sir.

My situation here, has enabled me to collect information respecting a Section of the country which, to the citizens of the U. States, has

hitherto been veiled in obscurity;—I allude to the country S.W. of the *Great Salt Lake*, west of the Rocky Mountains.

I started about the 22nd. of Aug^t. 1826 from the Great Salt Lake with a party of fifteen men for the purpose of exploring the Country S.W. which was entirely unknown to me, and of which I could collect no satisfactory information from the Indians who inhabit this country on its N.E. borders.

My general course on leaving the Salt Lake, was South-W. & West—passing the Little Uta Lake, and ascending Ashleys River which empties into the *little Uta Lake*: from this, I found no more sign of Buffaloo—there are a few Antelope & Mountain Sheep and an abundance of *Black-tailed Hares*. On Ashleys river, I found a Nation of Indians who call themselves *Sampatch*.—they were friendly disposed towards us. I passed over a range of Mountains running S.E. & N.W. and struck a river running S.W. which I called *Adams' River*, in Compliment to our *President*. The water is of a muddy cast, & is a little brackish—the country is mountainous to the East—towards the West, there are Sandy Plains, and detached Rocky Hills. Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a Nation of Indians, who call themselves *Pa Ulches*. these Indians, as well as those last mentioned, wear rabbit Skin robes.—who raise some little Corn. & Pumpkins. the Country is nearly destitute of Game of any description except a few Hares here (about 10 days march down it) the river turns to the South east. On the S.W. side of the river there is a *Cave* the entrance of which is about 10 or 15 feet high & 5 or 6 feet in width—after descending about 15 feet, the room opens out from 25 to 30 feet in length & 15 to 20 feet in width. The roof, sides, & floor are Solid Rock Salt—a sample of which, I send you, with some other articles which will be hereafter described. I have found a kind of plant of the Prickly Pear kind, which I called the Cabbage Pear.—the largest of which grow about 21½ feet high & 11½ feet in diameter. Upon examination, I found it to be nearly of the substance of a Turnip, altho' by no means palatable.—its form was similar to that of an Egg—being smaller at the ground & top, than in the middle.—it is covered with Pricks, similar to the Prickly Pear, with which you are acquainted.

There are here also, a number of shrubs & small trees with which I was not acquainted previous to my route there, and which I cannot at present describe satisfactorily, as it would take more space, than I can here allot.

The *Pa Ulches* have a number of marble pipes, one of which I obtained & Send you—altho' it has been broken since I have had it in

my possession—they told me there was a quantity of the same material in their country.—I also obtained of them, a Knife of *Flint* which I send you, but it has likewise been broken by accident.

I followed Adams' River 2 days further, to where it empties, into the Seeds Keeden, a southeast course.—I crossed the Seeds Keeden and went down it four days, a South Course. I here found the country remarkably barren, rocky & mountainous—there are a good many rapids in the river. About at this place a Valley opens out, about 5 to 15 miles in width, which on the river banks is Timbered and fertile. I here found a Nation of Indians who call themselves Am-muchábas.—the cultivate the Soil, and raise Corn, Beans, Pumpkins, Water & Muskmellons in abundance, and also a little Wheat & Cotton. I was now nearly destitute of horses, and had learned what it was to do without food. I therefore remained there fifteen days and recruited my men, and I was enabled also to exchange my horses & purchase a few more of a few runaway Indians who stole some horses of the Spaniards—I have got information of the Spanish country, (The Californias) and obtained two guides, recrossed the *Seeds Keeden* which I afterwards found emptied into the gulph of California, about 80 miles from this place by the name of the *Collerado* [words erased] the river *Gila* from the east.—I travelled a West course, fifteen days over a Country of complete Barrens.—generally travelling from morning untill night without water. I crossed a Salt Plane, about 20 miles long & 8 wide [now known as *Soda Lake or the Sink of the Mohave*], on the surface was a crust of beautiful fine white Salt, quite thin.—under the surface there is a Layer of salt from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, between this & the upper layer, there is about 4 inches of Yellowish sand.

On my arrival in the Province of upper California, I was looked upon with surprise, & was compelled to appear in presence of the Governor of the Californias, residing at Sⁿ. Diego,—where by the assistance of some American gentlemen, (especially Capt. B. H. Cunningham of the *Ship Courier*, from *Boston*, I was enable to obtain permission to return with my men, the route I came, and purchase such supplies as I stood in need of.—The Governor would not allow me to travel up the Sea coast to *Bodago*. I returned to my party and purchased such articles as were necessary, & went eastward of the Spanish settlements, on the route I had come in. I then steered my course N.W.—keeping from 150 to 200 miles from the Sea coast—a very high range of mountains being on the east. After travelling 300 miles in that direction, through a country somewhat fertile, in which there was a great many Indians mostly naked, and destitute of arms, with the

exception of *Bows & Arrows*, and what is very singular among indians the cut their hair to the length of 3 inches—they proved to be friendly.—their manner of living is on fish, roots, acors & grass.

On my arrival at a River [Kings River] which I called the *Wimmel-che*, (named after a Tribe of Indians who reside on it of that name) I found a few Beaver.—& Elk, Deer & antelope in abundance. I here made a small hunt, and attempted to take my party across the [mountain] which I before mentioned, & which I called *Mount Joseph*, to come on & join my Partners at the Great Salt Lake.—I found the Snow so deep on Mount Joseph, that I could not cross my horses,—five of which starved to death. I was compelled therefore to return to the Valley which I had left. And there leaving my party, I started with two men, seven horses & 2 mules, which I loaded with hay for the horses & provisions for ourselves, and Started on the 20th of May & succeeded in crossing it in 8 days—having lost only two horses & 1 mule. I found the snow on the top of this mountain from 4 to 8 feet deep but it was so consolidated by the heat of the sun, that my horses only sunk from $\frac{1}{2}$ foot to one foot deep.

After travelling 20 days from the East side of *Mount Joseph*, I struck the S.W. corner of the Great Salt Lake, travelling over a country completely barren, and destitute of Game. We frequently travelled without water sometimes for two days, over sandy deserts, where there was no sign of vegetation. Where we found water in some of the Rocky hills, we most generally found some Indians, who appeared the most miserable of the human race,—having nothing to subsist on (nor any clothing) except grass seed, Grass-hoppers &c.

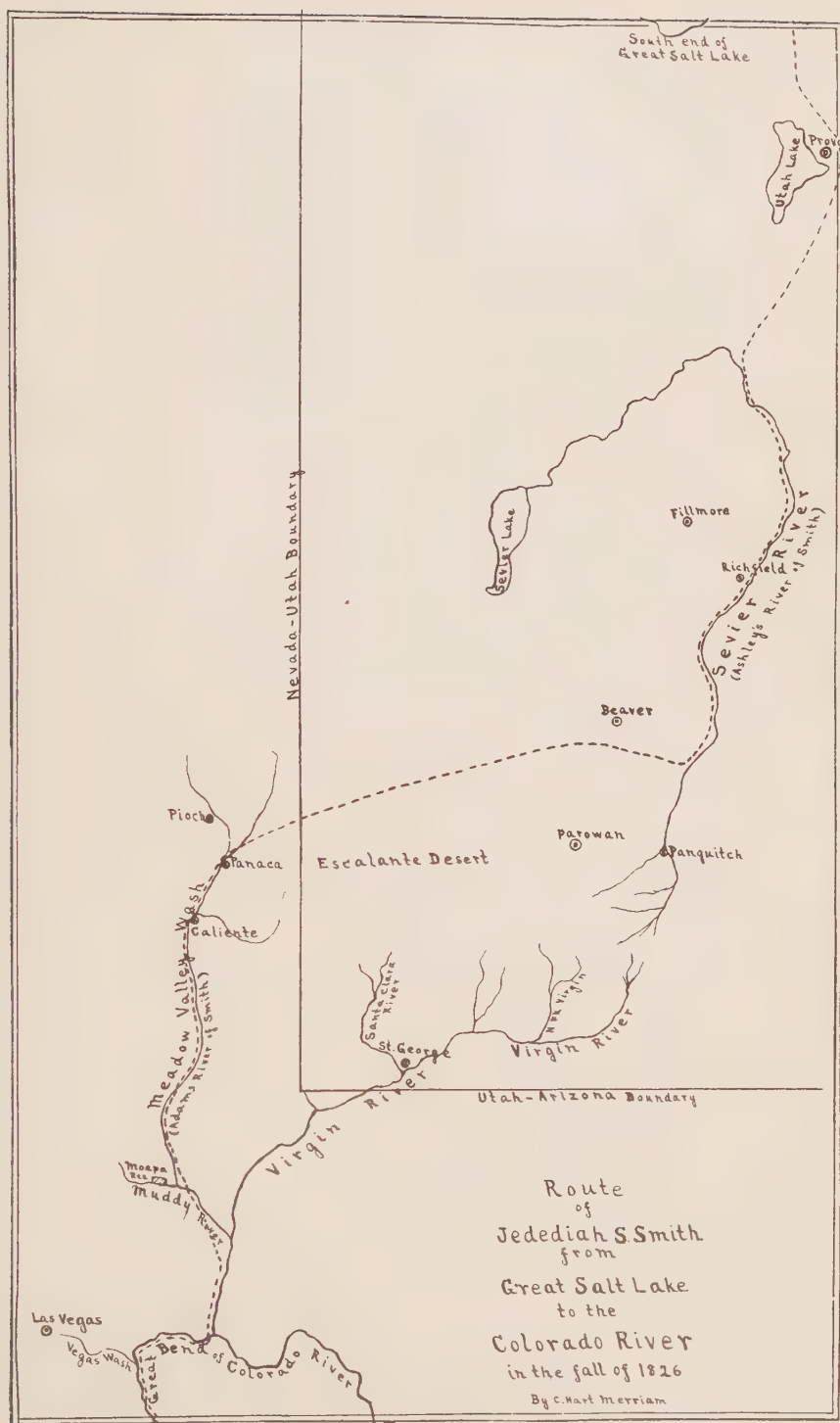
When we arrived at the Salt Lake, we had but one horse & one mule remaining, which were so poor, that they could scarce carry the little camp-equipage which I had along.—the balance of my horses, I was compelled to eat as the gave out. The Comp^y are now starting; therefore must close this Communication.

Yours respectfully

JEDEDIAH SMITH, of the
firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette.

[The spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the original have been faithfully followed. But it should be explained that at the end of the sentences and clauses there occurs a short stroke resembling an abbreviated dash, which is here rendered by a dash.]

C. HART MERRIAM.



NORTON I EMPEROR OF THE UNITED STATES AND PROTECTOR OF MEXICO

(Joshua A. Norton, 1819-1880)

"Every age has its peculiar folly; some scheme, project or phantasy into which it plunges, spurred on either by the love of gain, the necessity of excitement, or the mere force of imitation." Thus has a gifted writer laid down a human law as universal as the human race itself.

All cities have had that singular class of eccentric individuals commonly and generally known as "characters." Of these San Francisco has had perhaps more than her share. The years from 1860 to 1875 were generously prolific of these freaks. Some were impoverished, soiled and ragged; some were hopelessly woebegone and pathetic; some in their personal appearance were fantastic or picturesque; some were noted for sheer strength of character and vitality of obsessions; others, less few in number, were those who retained the gentility of their happier days and bore themselves with consistent and conspicuous dignity to the end.

In San Francisco in the sixties, the popular promenade was through the streets Montgomery and Kearny from Jackson to Sutter. Here in the late afternoon might be seen as in a rapidly shifting kaleidoscope, a most unusual procession, relieved here and there by the injected "characters," who lent life and color to the warp and woof of that most strangely variegated tapestry. A small army they were, each member living his own life and absorbed in his own mysterious schemes. Here were "George Washington Coombs," known also as the "Great Matrimonial Candidate"; "Old Rosey"; "Money King"; "Robert Macaire"; the "Gutter-Snipe"; "Old Crisis," and others, all of whom long since have passed into oblivion. And in this motley throng though never of it, appeared "Emperor Norton."

Joshua A. Norton was his real name. He was of Hebrew parentage, born February 4, 1819, probably in Scotland. Of his earlier life nothing is known as he rarely spoke of it. Before coming to California he had been for some time at Algoa Bay, Cape of Good Hope, where he was a member of the Cape Mounted Riflemen. He finally reached San Francisco in December, 1849, having come from Rio de Janeiro on the Hamburg vessel *Franzika*.

Norton at once engaged in business. He was occupied in extensive transactions in real estate, and many tremendous operations in

importation commissions. His native shrewdness was even unusual; his intelligence was wonderfully clear, and his business judgment was remarkably accurate. To this acumen were added the rarer attributes of a sound and inflexible moral and financial integrity. Some of these commissions involved transactions to the extent of several hundreds of thousands of dollars weekly, and Joshua Norton rapidly became wealthy. He had brought with him to California, \$40,000, and towards the close of 1853 he had amassed a fortune of a quarter million of dollars.

In 1853, in association with one Thorne and others he attempted to control the rice market. Earlier he had operated heavily, had been uniformly successful, and was applauded for his daring and foresight; co-operation was offered and accepted from other large firms and an immense quantity of rice was secured and held. Everything was promising for yield of immense fortune as profit, as rice was then thirty-six cents per pound in bulk, unloaded. Almost the last pound of rice in this port had been purchased by the combination. The profits were being calculated when two unexpected cargoes of rice arrived, which the combination could not take up nor control. The market was drugged and prices fell much below cost. To add to the general disaster, in order to protect themselves, some of the associated firms sold out and Norton was financially ruined. He contended stoutly to his closing days that one well-known firm owed him \$60,000.

Extensive litigation followed. The first of these cases was that of Ruiz Hermanos vs. Norton, et al. In this contention Norton was sustained in the lower court, but upon appeal this decision was reversed by the Supreme Court. This was in November, 1853. Other serious embarrassments followed, and the sacrifice of his extensive holdings of real estate, principally around North Beach, was the last chapter of his unfortunate disaster. The previous excitement of false expectation and shock of these disappointments coupled with the legal troubles constituted a severe blow to Norton's sanity. He retired into obscurity, and when he emerged in 1857, he gave palpable and distinct evidence of an overthrown mind.

His obsession took the form of a belief that he was the Emperor of the United States. He claimed that by an act of the legislature of 1853, he had been made Emperor of California. With this he was dissatisfied, and not unreasonably so, for he argued that California was but one of a union of states, and as such could neither loyally nor logically create an emperor. Further, as he would not renounce what he styled the "national cause," the act was accordingly suppressed.

The earliest printed proclamation of the self-created Emperor appeared in 1859.

At the peremptory request and desire of a large majority of the citizens of these United States, I, Joshua Norton, formerly of Algoa Bay, Cape of Good Hope, and now for the last 9 years and 10 months past of S. F., Cal., declare and proclaim myself Emperor of these U. S.; and in virtue of the authority thereby in me vested, do hereby order and direct the representatives of the different States of the Union to assemble in Musical Hall, of this city, on the 1st day of Feb. next, then and there to make such alterations in the existing laws of the Union as may ameliorate the evils under which the country is laboring, and thereby cause confidence to exist, both at home and abroad, in our stability and integrity

NORTON I,

Emperor of the United States.

17th September, 1859.

Having assumed the sword and the plume, Norton I actively entered upon the many duties that pertained to his royal station. It is of interest to note that the pretensions of Norton were early recognized by the public of San Francisco and as speedily humored. His name had temporarily disappeared from the city directory, but in Langley's issue for 1862, we find the following: "Norton, Joshua, (Emperor), dwl. Metropolitan Hotel." His empire was established and Norton I, Emperor of the United States had begun to reign.

One day at this period, some important news was received from Mexico, and in this as in all such matters, the Emperor was greatly interested. In a spirit of levity some joker stated that Mexico needed a protector, and suggested that Norton was the logical choice. Thereupon "Protector of Mexico" was added to the official title and retained for almost a decade. It was dropped during the unhappy career of Maximilian, for, as Norton sanely and even prophetically observed: "It is impossible to protect such an unsettled nation."

The imperialistic duties were manifold, comprehending grave affairs both national and international. The civil war gave him deep concern. On July 12, 1860, he declared the Union dissolved. Early in the war he declared a blockade, and in 1862 he issued a mandate to the Protestant and Catholic churches to publicly ordain him as Emperor, that he might more efficiently bring order out of the chaos into which the country had been plunged by the violent conflict and fierce dissensions of its rebellious people.

Some of the proclamations to be found in the contemporary journals were jokes which originated with the graceless wags and inspired idiots of the day. Others, of which one or two are extant, were the inspiration of Norton alone. They are couched in terms of sanity and composed in superior English. Most of them are national in pur-

port and bear upon relations with Great Britain, Russia, Mexico and other foreign countries. Others relate to the affairs of the civil war. One has survived which is entirely personal. In February, 1860, the Emperor desired to visit Sacramento where the legislature was then in session. The Steam Navigation company denied him transportation. Norton issued an order to the commander of the revenue cutter to blockade the Sacramento river until the offending company could be brought to terms.

The proclamations which were issued as jokes are easily to be recognized. Norton had no part in them as they were the work of the conscienceless wags and amiable villains of the times. One of these fictitious documents was issued in observance of the forty-sixth birthday of the Emperor:

Owing to unsettled questions between His Majesty Maximilian I, El Duque de Gwino, The Tycoon, the King of the Mosquitos, the King of the Cannibal Islands, &c., the usual display of bunting on foreign shipping and on public buildings, in commemoration of our 46th birthday, will be omitted.
Feb. 4, 1865.

Another proclamation was to the effect that the Emperor contemplated marriage, but to avoid arousing jealousy among the fairer sex, he played no favorites and they were to decide for themselves which one of them should be Empress.

Falsified telegraphic news was also a source of great amusement for the versatile wits. In 1864, Jefferson Davis telegraphed to inquire if it were true that Norton was in sympathy with Lincoln, also the request that \$500 be sent, as Davis had but one pair of trousers, and even that was worn out. Another telegram was from Lincoln. The President thanked the Emperor for his support, and said he had a good story to tell but at present was too busy settling accounts with a seedy individual named Davis. Norton was instructed to proceed to Petaluma, there to remain until further official notice. What the Emperor thought of these effusions will never be known. But interlinear reading is not altogether difficult, for in many directions the mind of Norton was unusually clear, and at all times he was remarkably philosophic.

During his long reign the equanimity of the Emperor was never seriously disturbed except by the actions of two individuals.

The first of these was D. Stellifer Moulton, formerly New York correspondent of the *Boston Traveller*. In 1865, he proclaimed a monarchy and styled himself, "Stellifer the King, Reigning Prince of the House of David, and Guardian of Mexico." Stellifer was of fine education and possessed luxurious tastes, but unlike Norton, was entirely insane. He had lived at the leading hotels in New York and

Boston, and when dunned by them had agreed to pay upon receipt of his claims against the United States Treasury for \$3,500,000, which was to be his semi-annual allowance. In a republic such regal ambitions are not always appreciated, so the authorities apprehended Stellifer the King, and promptly sequestered him. This state of affairs was too much for our Emperor. He, himself, was of the House of David, and also was he not Protector of Mexico? He purged his soul of its bitter resentment which flamed forth in the following:

PROCLAMATION.

Down with usurpers and imposters! Off with his head! So much for cooking other people's goose! The legitimate authorities of New York are hereby commanded to seize upon the person of one Stellifer, styling himself King or Prince of the House of David, and send him in chains to San Francisco, Cal., for trial before our Imperial Court, on various charges of fraud alleged against him in the public prints.

NORTON I

Emperor of the United States and Protector of Mexico.
S. F. 6th day of Nov. 1865.

The other member of the grossly offending duo was Denis Kearney, famed for his sand-lot statesmanship and anti-Chinese oratory. For Denis, the Emperor favored speedy judicial extermination. At the same time the new Constitution also exasperated him and he denounced it as high treason. He would have destroyed it but was willing to have the eminent attorney, Hall McAllister legally annul it.

In personal appearance the Emperor was always a picturesque and striking figure. He was of medium height, heavy-set, with hair that was inclined to curl, heavy eye-brows under a massive forehead, moustache and beard that became a royal personage, and clear and penetrating eyes. His garb was of navy blue cut in military style and profusely adorned with brass buttons. The shoulders were surmounted with massive gilt epaulettes, sometimes tarnished from exposure. In the earlier years of his reign he had worn a military cap embellished with red trimmings, which is quite familiar in the cartoons of that time. About 1865, one of his loyal subjects presented the Emperor with a tall beaver hat, which was thoughtfully decorated with a cockade of feathers and a rosette. The cap had outlived its usefulness and was laid aside forever. The hat, replaced from time to time, continued to be the regal headgear until the close of the Emperor's reign. In 1867, one of his subjects had sent from Oregon a large and unusual specimen of grapevine intended for a walking-stick. It was shod with a ferule and gold-mounted, and thereafter constituted his sceptre. He was never without it, but in inclement weather he carried also an umbrella, knowing wisely that royalty may be drenched and that his kingly authority was no greater than that of his illustrious predecessor, Canute.

He bore a sort of resemblance to Napoleon III, which fact when commented upon brought forth the ridiculous rumor that Norton was the son of that ill-starred monarch. This misstatement, so obvious in its utter absurdity, was hatched in the scattered brains of some irresponsible contemporary, whose living prototypes, loud with vacant volubilities and rich in historical misapplications, are yet in our midst.

The private life of the Emperor was simple. For seventeen years he had lived at the Eureka Lodging House, and the regal apartment was not palatial. It was a room of 6 x 10 feet in dimensions, with threadbare carpet and disabled furniture. The chief mural decorations were portraits of the foreign rulers and his collection of hats. His familiar figure was seen and known everywhere. He was a constant attendant of churches, theatres, musical affairs, civic gatherings and school commencements. He was deeply interested in higher education and in the earlier days of the University was a frequent visitor. He was fond of children and to them he was always gentle and courteous. There was at that time a Lyceum of Free Culture of which he was a member, and there he sustained many debates most intelligently and logically. It is said that he had some interest in spiritualism, but in which direction is not known. For sustenance he had the freedom of nearly every restaurant in the city, as also of every saloon. He was unusually abstemious, and if he frequently appeared in the popular saloons of Barry and Patten and "Frank's," or in the famous "Bank Exchange" and the "Pantheon," it was not in quest of liquor, but of "free lunch."

It was his custom to visit the markets and the docks, and to view buildings in process of construction. This was not from idle curiosity but from genuine interest, for in all these and kindred matters he was keenly informed. From time to time visits were made to men of affairs, and the Emperor had that rare discretion that never permitted himself to be regarded as a nuisance. He was even welcomed, for his own business training had taught him to appear at a suitable time and to retire at a proper moment. He had never met with royalty but once, and that distinguished personage was Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil.

No sketch of Norton would be entirely complete without some reference to "Bummer" and "Lazarus," the two dogs that enjoyed the freedom of San Francisco in the sixties. Lazarus was a wretched beast of low degree, and Bummer was but little better. But in some of his long gone ancestors there must have been a strain of nobility, for it was Bummer who sniffed this in the Emperor, and thereafter associated

himself with the royal presence, with the miserable Lazarus as an humble retainer. This was not of Norton's choice, but—noblesse oblige.

Edward Jump, then a young man, was the popular cartoonist of the sixties. In numerous of his cartoons he had introduced the well-known figure of the Emperor. In one of these, Norton is depicted at a free-lunch table satisfying the royal appetite, and beneath him are the two dogs awaiting the crumbs. Bummer as usual is alert and confident; Lazarus stands meanly, looking even more dejected than he did upon the morn of his resurrection. This caricature was displayed in a local shop-window where it was seen by Norton. It was the only time throughout his long reign that he was known to exhibit signs of violence. He savagely growled, "It is an insult to the dignity of an Emperor!" and crashing his stick through the window, destroyed the offending print.

Once only was he arrested. In 1867, a newly-appointed, young and zealous deputy apprehended Norton and took him before the Commissioner of Lunacy. The next day when brought before the proper authorities he was promptly discharged with an apology. The verdict was, "that he had shed no blood; robbed no one; and despoiled no country; which is more than can be said of his fellows in that line." There were returned to him the key of the palace, and the imperial funds amounting to \$4.75 lawful money. For these the Emperor gave his royal receipt.

During all of these years the Emperor had lived. From June 15, 1858, he had been a charter member of Occidental Lodge, F. and A. M., and the Masons, it is said, had paid his room rent. Voluntary subscriptions were made by the faithful among his subjects, and when the treasury was depleted he was accustomed to levy a tax of varying but small amounts. For these he invariably gave or offered a receipt in the form of a promissory note. This was a printed scrip which bore a vignette of the Emperor and was payable in 1880. It had been his purpose to exchange these for a new series, payable in 1890 at 4%.

The last hoax played upon him was also the crowning effort of the graceless, witty scamps of his realm. Norton was induced to believe that by marriage with Queen Victoria, he could bind closer the ties of the two great nations. Telegrams of congratulations upon the approaching happy event were found among his effects. These purported to be from Alexander of Russia, Beaconsfield, Grévy, former President Grant, and others.

The close of the Emperor's life and the end of his long reign came on January 8, 1880. Early in the evening while standing at the corner of California street and Grant avenue, he was observed to fall.

Assistance was rendered immediately, but ten minutes later the Emperor was gone. Death had been caused by sanguineous apoplexy. An autopsy by Doctors Stivers and Douglass, made with special reference to the brain, disclosed the fact that that organ was quite normal, and the more unusual fact that it weighed 51 ounces. The costs of the funeral were provided by Joseph G. Eastland, R. E. Brewster, and the members of the Pacific Club. The final ceremonies were conducted at the Morgue, and the eulogy was delivered by Rev. N. L. Githens, Rector of the Church of the Advent. It is estimated that 10,000 people of all walks in life came to view that silent figure, which rested in a wilderness of flowers. A lady, well-known and of high social station, with her own fingers pinned upon the lapel of the sleeping monarch a beautiful boutonniere of hyacinth and a spray of fern, remarking quietly that Norton had been kind to her when she was a child and he was in the heyday of his success. He was interred in Masonic Cemetery.

For twenty-three years the Emperor had reigned in his fantastic realm. His were the best-known features in San Francisco, and many hundreds of citizens yet live who vividly remember him. A striking portrait of him, painted by Benoni Irwin, was formerly in the chess-room of the Bohemian club, and a familiar little terra-cotta figure, possibly by Mezzara or Wells, may yet occasionally be seen.

The question of the insanity of Norton has been debated, but the evidence would appear to be in favor of the entire sincerity of his belief. At the time of his disaster he was but thirty-five years of age, and with his great abilities might easily have regained his fortune or created a new one. But that single, twisted convolution lay uppermost and for twenty-three years dominated his purpose. Poor, sometimes soiled and shabby, pathetic and philosophic, but always with a noble mind, he bore himself with dignity amid his squalid surroundings with one fixed and unvarying purpose, and that was consistently the welfare of his people. The heritage of honor and integrity that he had handed down while in his affluence, was never squandered nor dissipated, and so he bore the respect and goodwill of the best of his people to the end. The jokes played upon him had been harmless, and the merriment that he sometimes excited had been without the bitter venom of ridicule.

If sincere, his was a career of long heroic sacrifice; if an imposter, he must be ranked as one of the most extraordinary of that class who has yet lived. He left no successor. The emoluments of an unattractive throne and an empty royalty were not alluring; there was none strong enough to follow him; and finally the world was entering upon

an epoch of materialism in which there is no provision for such a monarch. From that strange stage through the doors of oblivion, thus passes forever Norton I, Emperor of the United States, and Protector of Mexico. *L'Empereur est mort.* .

In the same month, at a Low Jinks of the Bohemian club, a gifted and beloved member, the late Dr. George Chismore, presented this beautiful tribute:

NORTON IMPERATOR

"No more through the crowded streets he goes,
 With his shambling gait and shabby clothes,
 And his furtive glance and whiskered nose—
 Immersed in cares of state.
 The serpent twisted upon his staff
 Is not less careless of idle chaff,
 The mocking speech or the scornful laugh,
 Than he who bore it late.
 His nerveless grasp has released the helm,
 But ere the Lethean flood shall overwhelm
 The last faint trace of his fancied realm,
 Let us contrast his fate
 With other rulers and other reigns,
 Of royal birth or scheming brains,
 And see if his crazy life contains
 So much to deprecate.
 No traitorous friends, or vigilant foes,
 Rippled the stream of his calm repose;
 No fear of exile before him 'rose,
 Whose empire was his pate;
 No soldiers died to uphold his fame;
 He found no pleasure in woman's shame;
 For wasted wealth no well-earned blame
 Turned subjects' love to hate.
 No long and weary struggle with pain;
 One sudden throe in his clouded brain
 Closed forever his bloodless reign,
 With every man his friend.
 For Death alone did he abdicate.
 What Emperor, Prince or potentate,
 Can long avoid a similar fate
 Or win a better end!"

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

DOCUMENTARY

(Continued from page 172.)

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Congress of the United States, by virtue of the constitutional authority vested in them, have declared by their act, bearing date this day, that, "by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that Government and the United States. Now, therefore, I, James K. Polk, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same to all whom it may concern; and I do specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil or military, under the authority of the United States, that they be vigilant and zealous in discharging the duties respectively incident thereto: and I do moreover exhort all the good people of the United States, as they love their country, as they feel the wrongs which have forced them on the last resort of injured nations, and as they consult the best means, under the blessings of Divine Providence, of abridging its calamities, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and the efficacy of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted by the constituted authorities for obtaining a speedy, a just, and an honorable peace.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents. Done at the City of Washington the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fortysix, and of the independence of the United States the seventieth.

(signed) JAMES K. POLK.

By the President

signed. JAMES BUCHANAN
Secretary of State.

[Reprinted from Theodore H. Hittell's Memorial Address on George Bancroft, 1893.]

U. S. Navy Department, }
Washington, May 13th, 1846. }

Commodore John D. Sloat, Commanding U. S. Squadron, Pacific.

Commodore: The state of things alluded to in my letter of June 24th, 1845, has occurred.

You will, therefore, now be governed by the instructions therein contained and carry into effect the orders then communicated with energy and promptitude, and adopt such other measures for the protection of the persons and interests, the rights and the commerce of the citizens of the United States as your sound judgment may deem to be required.

When you establish a blockade, you will allow neutrals twenty days to leave the blockaded ports, and you will render your blockade absolute except against armed vessels of neutral nations.

Commending you and your ships' companies to Divine Providence, I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE BANCROFT.



[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

(Confidential Circular.)

Department of State
Washington, May 14th, 1846.

Sir,

I transmit to you, herewith, a proclamation of the President, of yesterday's date, declaring that war exists between the United States and Mexico. Congress adopted the measure with unprecedented unanimity. On the passage of the "Act providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and Mexico", there were but fourteen dissenting voices in the House, and two in the Senate. The truth is that we had endured so many insults and grievous wrongs from Mexico, with such unexampled patience, that at the last she must have mistaken our forbearance for pusillanimity. Encouraged, probably, by this misapprehension, her army at length passed the Del Norte,—has invaded the territory of our country,—and has shed American blood upon the american soil.

The vote in Congress will serve to convince the world that, in this

country, at a crisis, when it becomes necessary to assert the national rights, and vindicate the national honor, all party distinctions vanish.

You will observe from the President's message, a copy of which is enclosed, the extreme reluctance with which the United States have engaged in this war. It is our interest, as it has ever been our inclination, that Mexico should be an independent and powerful Republic, and that our relations with her should be of the most friendly character. The successive revolutions by which she has been afflicted, and the avaricious and unprincipled men who have placed themselves at the head of the Government, have brought her to the brink of ruin. We feel deeply interested that she should establish a stable Government sufficiently powerful and pacific to prevent and punish aggressions upon her neighbors. For some years, in our intercourse with her, we have incurred much of the expense, and suffered many of the inconveniences of war, whilst nominally at peace. This state of things had at least become intolerable.

We go to war with Mexico solely for the purpose of conquering an honorable and permanent peace. Whilst we intend to prosecute the war with vigor, both by land and by sea, we shall bear the olive branch in one hand, and the sword in the other; and whenever she will accept the former, we shall sheath the latter.

A strict blockade of the ports of Mexico, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, will be immediately established.

In conversing on the objects and purposes of the war, you will be guided by the sentiments expressed in the President's message and this despatch.

I am Sir, respectfully,
your Obedient Servant

(signed) JAMES BUCHANAN

JOHN PARROTT ESQ^R.
U. S. Consul
Mazatlan.

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

U. S. Navy Department
Washington May 15, 1846.

Commodore,

By my letter of the 13th inst, forwarded to you through different sources, in triplicate, of which a copy is enclosed, you were informed of the existing state of war between this Government and the Republic of Mexico and referred to your instructions bearing date June 24th 1845, in reference to such a contingency, and directed "to carry into effect the orders then communicated, with energy and promptitude, and adopt such other measures for the protection of the persons and interests, the rights and the commerce of the citizens of the United States, as your sound judgment may deem to be required."

I transmit you herewith, by the hands of Midshipman McRae, whom you will employ on your station, a file of papers containing the President's Message and the proceedings of Congress relative to the existing state of war with Mexico. The President, by authority of Congress, has made proclamation of war between the United States and Mexico. You will find a copy of the Proclamation in the papers enclosed.

You will henceforth exercise all the rights that belong to you as Commander in Chief of a belligerent Squadron.

You will consider the most important public object to be, to take and to hold possession of San Francisco, and this you will do without fail.

You will also take possession of Mazatlan and of Monterey, one or both, as your force will permit.

If information received here is correct, you can establish friendly relations between your squadron and the inhabitants of each of these three places.

Guymas is also a good harbor, and is believed to be defenceless. You will judge about attempting it.

When you cannot take and hold possession of a town, you may establish a blockade if you have the means to do it effectually, and the public interests shall require it.

With the expression of these views, much is left to your discretion as to the selection of the points of attack, the ports you will seize, the ports which you will blockade; and as to the order of your successive movements.

A connection between California and even Sonora and the present

government of Mexico is supposed scarcely to exist. You will, as opportunity offers, conciliate the confidence of the people in California and also in Sonora towards the government of the United States; and you will endeavor to render their relations with the United States, as intimate and as friendly as possible.

It is important that you should hold possession at least of San Francisco; even while you encourage the people to neutrality, self government and friendship.

You can readily conduct yourself in such a manner, as will render your occupation of San Francisco and other ports, a benefit to the inhabitants.

Commodore Biddle has left, or will soon leave China. If occasion offers, you will send letters for him to our agent at the Sandwich Islands, conveying to him the wish of the Department that he should appear at once off California or Sonora.

You will inform the Department by the earliest opportunity of those ports which you blockade. You will notify neutrals of any declaration of blockade, you may make, and give to it all proper publicity. Your blockade must be strict, permitting only armed vessels of neutral powers to enter; but to neutrals, already in the ports, you will allow twenty days to leave them.

The frigate "Potomac" and sloop "Saratoga" have been ordered to proceed, as soon as possible, into the Pacific; and Captain Aulick in the "Potomac" and Commander Shubrick in the "Saratoga" directed to report to you at Mazatlan, or wherever else they may find your forces. You would do well, if occasion offers, to send orders to Callao and Valparaiso, instructing them where to meet you.

Other reinforcements will be sent you as the exigencies of the service may require.

You will communicate with the Department as often as you can, and you will, if practicable, send a messenger with despatches across the country to the Del Norte, and so to Washington.

Very respectfully

Your obedient Servant

(Signed) GEORGE BANCROFT.

Com^o. JOHN D. SLOAT. }
Com^o. U. S. Naval Forces }
in the Pacific }

[Reprinted from Theodore H. Hittell's Memorial Address on George Bancroft, 1893.]

U. S. Navy Department, }
Washington, June 8th, 1846. }

Commodore John D. Sloat, Commanding U. S. Naval Forces in the Pacific Ocean.

Commodore: You have already been instructed, and are now instructed, to employ the force under your command first, to take possession of San Francisco; next, to take possession of Monterey; next, to take possession of such other Mexican ports as you may be able to hold; next, to blockade as many of the Mexican ports in the Pacific as your force will permit, and to watch over American interests and citizens and commerce on the west coast of Mexico.

It is rumored that the province of California is well disposed to accede to friendly relations with the United States. You will encourage the people of that region to enter into relations of amity with our country. In taking possession of their harbors you will, if possible, endeavor to establish the supremacy of the American flag without any strife with the people of California.

The squadron on the east coast of Mexico, it is believed, is in the most friendly relations with Yucatan. In like manner, if California separates herself from our enemy, the Central Mexican Government, and establishes a government of its own under the auspices of the American flag, you will take such measures as will best promote the attachment of the people of California to the United States, will advance their prosperity and will make that vast region a desirable place of residence for emigrants from our soil.

Considering the great distance at which you are placed from the Department and the circumstances that will constantly arise, much must be left to your discretion. You will bear in mind generally that this country desires to find in California a friend and not an enemy, to be connected with it by near ties, to hold possession of it at least during the war, and to hold that possession, if possible, with the consent of its inhabitants.

The sloop of war "Dale," Commander McKean, sailed from New York on the 3d instant to join your squadron. The "Lexington," Lieutenant Bailey, will sail as soon as she can take on board her stores. The "Potomac" and "Saratoga" have also been ordered to the Pacific.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

BOOK REVIEWS

Santa Barbara Mission. By Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M.
San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1923. Illustrated. xviii,
470 pp. 8°.

Singularly fitting it is that the most authoritative and compendious history yet written of California's Franciscan Missions has resulted from the labors of Friar Engelhardt, himself a member of the Franciscan Brotherhood. And it is gratifying to have a detailed and succinct account of the happenings at Santa Barbara from the pen of one who has had opportunity for careful study of the precious archives which are undoubtedly the most complete of any now preserved in the Missions.

Not only from the Mission archives are drawn the materials for the present account: an important source is the collection of the Archbishop of San Francisco now the property of the St. Mary's Library Association. And extensive use has been made of Bancroft's transcripts from the Surveyor General's *California Archives*, destroyed in the great fire. The author has also reviewed many of the contemporary published writings.

Placed in a commanding position upon the plain at the foot of the range of Santa Inez and overlooking the sea, the Mission and Presidio of Santa Barbara, landmarks to navigators in the early days, held a strategic point in the midst of a large Indian population and about midway on the King's Highroad between the establishments to the south and on the north. At the present time the buildings that remain have been encroached upon by the rapidly growing town. But the substantially built stone church still retains a quaint aloofness and enjoys the unique distinction of being the oldest continuously occupied establishment of its kind in Western America; a mute testimonial to the absorbing devotion of the little band of friars whose earthly remains now rest in the Mission vault. In these busy days it is indeed hard to realize the extent of renunciation and the loneliness that must have been the lot of the brave guardians of these outposts of civilization on the far edge of the Western World. And the history of these true pioneers of the church deserves all the ample treatment that Friar Engelhardt has bestowed upon it.

This book on Santa Barbara follows the style of the author's recently published work on San Diego Mission.

The opening chapters, the first four, deal with the discovery and early history of the coast districts before the founding of the Missions.

Particular portions of the narratives of Cabrillo, Cermeño, Viscaino, Portolá, and Anza are recounted. Details are furnished of the founding of the Presidio of Santa Barbara which antedated the Mission itself by a period of nearly five years. One gains the impression that the military occupation of California was considered at that time paramount to the extension of the Mission system. Services, conducted by President Serra himself, were held at the Presidio from the beginning.

Disagreement between Viceroy Neve and the Mission authorities concerning plans for the conduct of the Mission led to such delay that it was not until December 16, 1786, that Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén formally declared founded the Mission of Santa Barbara. Buildings were commenced early in 1787. One of the first considered necessary was the famous *monjério*, a sort of citadel, where the unmarried Indian women and girls were required to be locked in every night. The first plantings consisted of wheat, chickpeas, beans, barley, and corn. The livestock by the end of the first year numbered 80 head. Seventy baptisms were recorded during the first six months of Mission activity. The majority of these were, of course, of adult Indians. "By the close of the year 1799 the Mission numbered 864 neophytes."

In the year 1789 a commodious new church was erected. "It was constructed of adobes and roofed with tiles. The old chapel of poles and thatch was removed save, perhaps, the sanctuary, which was of adobe." The third church was commenced in 1793. It was of adobe, tile-roofed and plastered inside and out. This was the building destroyed by the great earthquake of 1812, which damaged many of the other Missions. There had been a violent earthquake twelve years before which did but little damage.

On pages 75-81 is an unusually interesting account of life at the Mission in the early days from the contemporary pen of Fr. Estévan Tapis. We are told how the hours for work and recreation were regulated, the kinds of instruction and punishments administered, the recompense for work, etc. "Every day . . . each Indian received eight pounds of nourishing food, not counting the fruits. 'That this was sufficient'" Fr. Tapis naïvely continues, "'any one can see, for some of the *pozole* remains over and is fed to the cattle.'"

Surplus products were of course sold and the money put into the general fund as were the wages earned by such Indians as hired out to the Spanish inhabitants of the Pueblo.

A serious epidemic of pneumonia visited the Indians in 1801. This was the occasion of a dangerous uprising which might easily have

wiped out the unsuspecting missionaries. From about the year 1803 the neophyte population began to decrease. The cause is said to have been the spread of disease brought by the soldiers and the Mexican immigrants; "most of whom were recruited from the scum of society in Mexico," it is asserted. As is well known, the military and religious establishments at Santa Barbara lived in anything but close accord. The loose, lazy life of the soldiery probably had more influence upon the child-like Indian than the discipline intended for him by the missionaries. Complaints against the conduct of the military company were indited in frequent letters from the friars to the civil authorities. Indeed the beginning of the end of the unfortunate Missions is attributed to the parasitism and misconduct of the troops. But it cannot be forgotten that up to the year 1831, when the Presidio of Santa Barbara received its first chaplain, the missionaries themselves were responsible for the religious welfare of the garrison as well as of the Indians.

The present church at Santa Barbara was commenced in 1815 and finished in 1820. In the erection of this building the fathers, it is stated, were not permitted to carry out exactly the plans they wished, since by royal decree of December 22, 1800, the missionaries of Upper and Lower California were prohibited, without the consent of the Governor, from employing Indians whom they had not "the means for maintaining." We might be permitted to wish that our author had dealt as fully with this question of slavery at the Missions as he has with other topics.

It appears that the new stone church was erected around the old one which was then removed from within. This church built in the years 1815-20 stands today the most perfectly preserved of all the Missions.

Events dealt with in some detail from this time forward are: the invasion of the pirate Bouchard; a serious revolt of the Santa Barbara Indians instigated by the flogging of a neophyte by one of the soldiers at Purisima; the reaction in California to the Mexican declaration of independence from Spain, in 1824, and the cruel expulsion of the Spanish born missionaries; the Solis Revolt in 1829, and Figueroa's decree of Mission secularization, August 9, 1834. The latter had of course the opposite effect from that intended. Instead of freeing the neophytes from the slavery in which they were supposed to be held by the friars it subjected them to the far worse tyranny of civil administrators, and by placing the Mission properties in secular hands ended in the complete dismemberment and confiscation of most of the estates.

Santa Barbara was never entirely deserted. Her friars were reduced to the direst poverty and harassed almost beyond human endurance but they stuck to their posts. The patient Fr. Durán in 1836, after suffering an attempt at banishment, returned to record the lamentable conditions:

The Missions are coming to an end: but the fondness of those concerned for their victims, on which they are growing fat, forbids them to let them go until they can not avoid it. All these things I have sent to you in writing so that you may do what you can before the Government, in order that a remedy may be applied against the great disorders and the torments of evils which are overwhelming us, and which are afflicting us to such a degree that I can assure you, if we are not relieved we shall scarcely be able to bear it another year. . . .

The first step must be that from our houses be driven the administrators, who now have possession of the quarters which our brethren occupied when two Religious were stationed at a Mission. As it is, we can not give a home to a poor, aged, and infirm Father without exposing him to the indignity of being treated like a dishrag. . . . The administrators have placed in our very houses their numerous families, their women, their crying and turbulent children, and a multitude of relatives, who all make an unbearable racket. . . . We have borne this for three years but it can not continue.

Some space is devoted to alleged mistreatment of Fr. Durán by the young general Mariano Vallejo, Commandante of the military forces of *The Free and Sovereign State of Alta California* established in November, 1836. The narrative continues with accounts of looting and disturbance resulting from the presence of troops during the civil disturbances in the thirties. The conduct of Fr. Durán during all this vexation appears in the light of true heroism.

At last on July 14, 1839, Micheltorena, by decree, restored what was left of all the Missions of California to the management of the Franciscans. This happy state of affairs was to last only until 1845, when Pio Pico, the *insurrecto* who had ousted Micheltorena, decreed the final confiscation and sale of the religious estates. "On November 20, 1845, Pico informed Fr. Durán that . . . Mission Santa Barbara had been rented for \$1,200 and the payment of the debts in cash, for nine years to Nicholas A. Den and Daniel Hill." Durán was reduced to the extremity of having to beg the means of livelihood from the despoilers. He "escaped the Poorhouse only through the charity of an American." Many of his remaining Indians, in their thoughtlessness, deserted him.

The year 1846 marked the deaths at Santa Barbara of the Bishop of California, the Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno and of

the faithful Fr. Narciso Durán. "Fr. González Rubio became sole administrator of the orphaned Diocese, and resided as before at Mission Santa Barbara."

Little is said of the visits of the first Americans from overland. It is of interest to note, however, that "at none of the Missions is anything recorded about Pattie's visit and alleged vaccinations." The McNamara episode, though not directly concerned with Santa Barbara comes in for a share of attention, also the arrival of Stockton and Frémont and the American occupation under Col. J. D. Stevenson.

The work closes with an appreciation, perhaps somewhat overdrawn, of the beneficent influence of the missionaries upon the Indians, with important extracts from the Registers, biographical sketches of friars and military commandants and finally the later history of the Mission,—the founding in 1854 of the novitiate and in 1896 of the present college. An appendix containing Indian place-names and miscellaneous information is added.

The book is tastefully printed and copiously and artistically illustrated.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage April to October, 1792.

Edited, with Botanical and Ethnological Notes, by C. F. Newcombe, M.D., and a Biographical Note by J. Forsyth. Victoria, B. C.: 1923. xx, 171 pp. 8°.

We are indebted to Mr. John Forsyth, the Librarian of the Provincial Library of British Columbia, for a very interesting selection from the journal of A. Menzies, who accompanied the Vancouver expedition to the northwest coast. Dr. Newcombe has edited the narrative in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, and the result, with a preface written by Dr. Newcombe and a biographical note by Mr. Forsyth, together with appendixes of botanical and ethnological notes and a bibliography, forms a volume of some 171 pages, well printed and bound.

The selection from Menzies' journal comprises the voyage from April 8, 1792, about a week before sighting the California coast, to October 13, the day the expedition sailed from Nootka for San Francisco.

On April 17 land was sighted, and the following day an observation showed them to be off the California coast in 39°27'. On the 19th they were abreast of Cape Mendocino, and continued following

and exploring the coast to the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The summer was chiefly spent in Puget Sound and in rounding Vancouver Island on the east and north. On August 28, the ship anchored in Nootka Sound, where they found a Spanish vessel, and Captain Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandant, on shore living in a two-story house.

Menzies gives us an interesting picture of the official and social festivities which followed during the ensuing month. Nootka at this period was a lively spot, vessels of all kinds coming and going, mostly fur traders. A number of Spanish vessels were on the coast that year besides the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*. Moziño, the Spanish botanist, was on shore with Bodega.

At some future time we hope to be able to present to our readers the part of Menzies' journal which covers the visit of the expedition to California.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

On Tuesday, June 19th, the Society had the pleasure of listening to an interesting address by Professor E. D. Adams, of Stanford University, on "British-American Relations in Connection with the Acquisition of California."

Professor Adams has for a long time made a study of this question, and was well-equipped to discuss the matter, and incidentally put the quietus on a number of what might be called fairy-tales regarding the alleged activities of the British in seeking to gain possession of California. He read extracts from a number of documents in the British archives in London, which established the fact that at no time during the period under discussion had the British government any idea of taking possession of California. They not only failed to swallow the bait which was temptingly held out to them by various adventurers and empire builders, but even failed to nibble at it. Professor Adams stated that the reason for this chiefly was that at that particular period there was in power in Great Britain a party which had no particular interest in the extension of the empire. It was the party later known as the "Little Englanders." Least of all were they willing to enter into any enterprise which threatened a conflict with the United States. Their attitude in this matter was to a certain extent indicated by their handling of the more difficult Oregon and Texas questions.

The large audience comprised not only the members of the California Historical Society but a number of invited guests, members of the English-Speaking Union, all of whom evinced the greatest interest in the address, which was one of the most noteworthy that has been delivered before the Society.



On Thursday, July 19th, Mr. H. R. Wagner addressed the Society on "The California Material in the Archives of Spain." He said that he had spent four months in Seville at the Archives of the Indies, and a month or more in Madrid at the Biblioteca Nacional and the Real Academia de la Historia. It was impossible to say whether any new material of importance had been found, but much correspondence of the viceroys and public officials in Mexico had been examined, from which what was apparently much new material had been unearthed. Mr. Wagner spoke of the account of the Ulloa expedition to California, known as Diego de Palencia's account, and stated that the account was not by Palencia at all, but Ulloa himself. A copy of this was

obtained and a translation made preparatory to publication. While not so full in some respects as the account written by Francisco Preciado, a soldier connected with the expedition, which was published in Italian by Ramusio in 1556, it is nevertheless more important, as it gives much more information regarding the individuals connected with the expedition, preserves the different acts of possession which were made by Ulloa, and in general gives a much clearer description of the route followed.

The account of the Rodriguez Cabrillo expedition is found in the archives only in the form of a copy, and probably not a contemporary copy at that. The notion that it was written by Juan Paez, because this name is written on the first page at the top, appears to be without foundation, as the same name appears in exactly the same handwriting in the same place in the account of the Jaramillo expedition to New Mexico, this latter being like the other, also a copy. Another notion that seems to prevail, that there are two accounts of this expedition, was referred to, and the explanation given that the differences arise from the fact that the document was first copied by Muñoz into his collection, and from that published by Buckingham Smith, while the other copy in the Pacheco and Cardenas collection was taken from the archives direct. What differences, therefore, occur have been brought about by errors in copying and printing.

Mr. Wagner further stated that a complete record of all the known expeditions to California down to 1685 had been obtained in copies, except that of Piñadero in 1664 or 1665, of which nothing remained but the cover. Asked whether he had found any new facts bearing on the name "California" or the naming of the peninsula, he said that he had not, although diligent search had been made among the documents in Seville up to 1570 or later. No contemporary reference to the peninsula was found under the name "California" until after 1564, other than that in the Rodriguez Cabrillo narrative, which having been written much later lies under the suspicion of having the name "California" interpolated. No more extended account of Cortes' expedition to California was found than those already printed. Mr. Wagner briefly referred to the expeditions to the California coast of Urdaneta, Arellano, Gali, Unamuno, Rodriguez Cermeño and Viscaino, in the sixteenth century, as well as the one projected by Juan de la Isla in 1572, which never took place so far as can be discovered from the documents in the archives. He also referred to the seventeenth century expeditions of Viscaino, Cardona, Ortega and others, all except the first being pearl-fishing enterprises pure and simple. He spoke of Father Antonio de la Ascension and his theories of California as an

island, and expressed the opinion that it was from one of his maps that the theory that it was an island began to circulate in Europe after 1620.



At a meeting held on Thursday, August 16th, Mr. Wells Drury addressed the Society on the subject, "How Californians Gave Life and Color to Nevada's Bonanza Boom Times."

The speaker went to the Comstock in the '70s and was an eyewitness of the boom scenes there. He related a number of his personal experiences as a newspaper man, and called to the attention of the Society a long list of Californians, more or less famous, who had at different times inhabited that famous spot. His list, needless to say a long one, ranged from miners like John W. Mackay, and writers such as Sam Davis, down to the bad men of the camp. He stressed the point that the Comstock was nothing but a suburb of California, so to speak, almost every name mentioned being that of a previous resident of that state. He said: "In fact Nevada was flooded with Californians, who went in for living again the tragedies and excitements of the days of '49, and they succeeded to their hearts' content. To illustrate how genuinely Virginia City was Californian, it may be mentioned that that city had a society of Pacific Coast Pioneers as large as the parent body in San Francisco and every man a genuine '49er.

"Not only the officials were from California, but also the miners, merchants, mechanics, editors, hightoned gamblers, hightoned gun fighters, bad men, stage drivers and stage robbers, lawyers, mining magnates, prize fighters, hotel keepers, cooks, waiters, and bottle washers—all hailed from California, and as all the men carried guns, all were on an equal footing, regardless of education, breeding, wealth or poverty, race, color or previous condition of servitude. And they were probably the most polite lot of men ever herded together in such a vast region of sagebrush and cactus. When every man is the judge of his own conduct and is swiftly resentful of even the slightest intimation of dereliction or error, the standard of behavior is necessarily marked by a high degree of punctilious courtesy that would under less strenuous conditions make the polished Chesterfield look like a rube at an afternoon pink tea. But even so, there were frequent disagreements among those ultra polite gentlemen, and in any history of Nevada you may pick up you will find from 20 to 30 pages of fine print giving a mere schedule of the shooting affairs, mostly fatal, which punctured and punctuated the current of social events. These killings, to be sure,

did not include the ordinary stage robberies, highway holdups, and such vulgar crimes as are indulged in by inferior elements of society."

Mr. Drury wound up his very interesting address by a characteristic anecdote of the famous Sam Davis. It seems that he had had some personal difficulty with Davis while they were living in Carson. Having sold out his newspaper and gone east, Drury devoted some six months in Kansas City to developing his knowledge of pugilism so as to be able to knock out Davis without resort to more murderous weapons. On his return to California, hunting up his one-time friend, he was surprised on meeting him on the street to have Davis rush up to him and say, "God bless you Wells,—how are you?"

IN MEMORIAM

Edward Robeson Taylor

(September 24, 1839-July 5, 1923)

Edward Robeson Taylor, physician, jurist and litterateur, whose death occurred on July 5, was a member of the California Historical Society from 1887 until the close of its activity in 1893.

He was born in Springfield, Illinois, September 24, 1839. At the age of eleven when in Kemper school, his father died leaving young Edward, his mother and three sisters. He remained at school until he was sixteen years of age, and his progress must have been remarkable, for when he was only fourteen, Mr. Kemper appointed him instructor in Latin and mental arithmetic, and thus he earned his first money.

After leaving school he became an apprentice in the printing office of the Booneville "Observer" and served a full term of seven years. A part of his work was editorial; and so well adapted was he, that during the last year he acted as editor of that journal.

In 1862, he came to California and the members of his family gradually followed. He entered Toland Medical College and was graduated in 1865. For a short period he practiced medicine, but his scholarly abilities resulted in the appointment as private secretary to Governor Henry H. Haight. The term of office was from 1867 to 1871, and Taylor continued until its close. In the meantime having read law, in 1872 he was admitted to practice in California, and in 1879 to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. He was of counsel in many important cases, one being the famous "Pueblo Title." He was dean of the Hastings Law college (the legal department of the State University), from 1888-1900. He was a member of the Board of Freeholders, 1885-1887, and was also one of that same board which in 1898 framed and gave the city its present charter.

In the disturbed year of 1907, at the urgent request of its best citizens, Doctor Taylor was appointed mayor of San Francisco. The writer of this note, who knew Taylor intimately and long, can testify that the Doctor was an able and impartial chief magistrate. He remained in office until 1910. In his professional capacities, Doctor Taylor was for thirty years vice-president and president of Cooper Medical college; and president of the Bar Association during 1890-1891.

He was widely known for his literary accomplishments, and was the first president of the Book Club of California. He has left after

him many volumes of poetry and many graceful sonnets of which the best known is his translation of the Sonnets of Heredia. The elegance of his translation and rendition attracted the attention of the French government, and Edward Robeson Taylor was created a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur.

E. J. MOLERA.

Edward James Wickson

(August 3, 1848-July 16, 1923)

Professor Edward James Wickson, former dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of California, and a well-known horticulturist, died in Berkeley on July 16. He was born in Rochester, New York, August 3, 1848, was educated at Hamilton College, and after graduation embarked on a newspaper career. In 1875 he came to the University of California, where he remained in active service until 1915, when he retired as professor emeritus. He was perhaps best known for his connection with farming work generally, and especially with the Pacific Rural Press.

At the time of the resuscitation of the California Historical Society under the auspices of Edward S. Holden, President of the University of California, Professor Wickson became a member; and he continued an active member until 1894, when the activities of the Society again ceased.

